

THE WRITINGS OF ST COLUMBAN

G. S. M. Walker

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THE WRITINGS OF ST COLUMBAN

edited

with Introduction and Notes

by

G.S.M. WALKER

being a Thesis presented
to the University of St Andrews
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I hereby certify that Mr G.S.M.Walker has fulfilled all the conditions of the Ordinances and Regulations for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of St Andrews.

I hereby declare that the following Thesis is based on work carried out by me, that the Thesis is my own composition, and that it has not previously been presented for a Higher Degree. The research was carried out in the Universities of St Andrews and Cambridge, during the Sessions 1950-3.

After graduating at Oxford in 1946, with second class honours in the School of Literae Humaniores, I matriculated at St Andrews in 1947, and followed a course leading to graduation in Divinity until May, 1950.

In June, 1950, I commenced the research on the Writings of St Columban, which formed the basis of the following Thesis, and which was conducted over a period of nine academic Terms. I was appointed to a Pettigrew Scholarship in 1950, and to a University Post-graduate Scholarship in 1951.

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INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER ONE

Ireland and the Celtic Church

Among the great centres of mediaeval Christianity, Ireland enjoyed a singular privilege of fate; never subject to the Roman Empire, she carried her laws, culture and structure of society over from paganism into Christendom, directly and with little appreciable break. The effect upon her ecclesiastical institutions was enormous, and when she emerged from comparative isolation at the close of the sixth century, she presented to the continent a spectacle of strange disorder. Passionate and proud, with the summer lightning and the sombre melancholy of an artistic race, the Celt, though gripped in the play of elemental spirits, remained at heart always a child. Delighting in personal adornment, his heroes bear the image of Homeric kings -- "Beautiful was the appearance of Cormac in that assembly, flowing and slightly curling was his golden hair. A red buckler with stars and animals of gold and fastenings of silver upon him. A crimson cloak in wide descending folds around him, fastened at his neck with precious stones. A torque of gold around his neck. A white shirt with a full collar and intertwined with red gold thread upon him. A girdle of gold inlaid with precious

stones was around him. Two wonderful shoes of gold with golden loops upon his feet. Two spears with golden sockets in his hands, with many rivets of red bronze. And he was himself besides symmetrical and beautiful of form, without blemish or reproach." (1) Such was the state of Cormac in the great hall that he had built at Tara; bright with gold and crimson, sweet with the music of heroic lays.

But the kings of Ireland had little actual power. Leinster, Munster, Connaught and Ulster were at the head of federated groups; and they themselves recognized in Meath the High King of the entire country. Yet this half-feudal hierarchy was remote from the active centres of loyalty and life; it was the clan that fostered the strong family attachments of the Celt, the clan system that formed the enduring fabric of his social structure, the clan chiefs that effectively administered the land. Ireland was not so much a nation as a collection of petty tribes, whose members claimed some relation of affinity or adoption with the patriarch who ruled among them. There was no public law, in the modern acceptance of that term, for the Brehon code regarded all crimes as torts committed by one individual against another; according to its essential principle, the State had no concern with such actions, which were to be

(1) Quoted from the Book of Ballymote by D. Hyde, Literary History of Ireland, 1899, p.122.

settled by reparation to the injured party and his relatives. So thoroughly private in character was the administration of justice, that an elaborate schedule of compensations was drawn up, graded according to the social status of the sufferer.

For religion, the pagan Irish worshipped a loose pantheon of Aryan nature-gods, superimposed upon the primitive magic of the druids. Chief among the deities ranked the solar fire, symbol and source of purity and light. Sacred hearths were tended in its honour, some remaining even into Christian times; one, at Kildare, was kept alight by the nuns right up to the reign of Henry VIII, with a brief interval of darkness under a Norman Arch-bishop of Puritan ideas. Visions or experiences associated with solar symbols occur in some birth-stories of the Irish saints (2), and, in token of the gospel preparation afforded by the higher type of paganism, the solar wheel came to form an integral part of the Celtic cross. Sometimes, like Apollo, the sun is associated with the patronage of wild animals, especially the wolf. Here again, Christianity was to transmute a heathen cult with touches of Franciscan loveliness. Columban and Columba of Iona were both famed for their friendships with the beasts. Ciaran of Saigir was attended in his solitude by a brotherhood of animals; and a charming tale is told of how

(2) Before the birth of St Columban, his mother dreamt that a brilliant sun was proceeding from her womb -- Jonas, Vita Columbani I, 2.

Brother Fox one day stole the saint's shoes, and how Brother Badger, being skilled in wood-craft, was sent to fetch him back, and how the culprit on his return asked pardon and did penance by a fast (3). Next to the sun came the water-deity, with its cult of fountains and sacred wells. Standing stones and trees were probably worshipped from pre-Aryan times. The tree remains a miraculous element in Christian hagiography; Ruadan of Lothra, whose powerful curses brought the court of Tara to an end, possessed a fine elm from which flowed a beautiful beer, and in consequence, "the monks of Ireland yearned to Ruadan" (4). In fact, so gradual was the conversion to Christianity, that popular estimation, reflected in the saints' Lives, viewed the saint simply as a druid endowed with a stronger magical power. The second sight, the potency of curses, the use of hymns as charms, the magic residing in a holy man's staff or bell, the identification of Tir-nan-Og with the Land of Promise are all a part of this elfin amalgam of creeds. And the primeval elements lived on in the superstition of simple folk -- the leprechauns and fairies, their poor relations, the siabhra, the observance of lucky days or movements and the interpretation of dreams, even human sacrifice for the safety of a newly-erected building(5)

(3) Life of Ciaran, sects. 5-7 (C.Plummer, Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae, 1910, I pp.219-20).

(4) Lives of the Saints from the Book of Lismore, ed. W.Stokes, p.80 (and 227).

(5) There is a remarkable instance of this in the old Irish Life of St Columba, quoted by Reeves on Adamnan III, 6, where St Odhran volunteers to be buried alive under the chapel on Iona.

Only the druids went, and they were slow in dying. Wearing white robes and tonsure, descended from primitive medicine-men, and maintaining their high social position by a combination of literary gifts with a stock of traditional wisdom, they are best to be compared with those Brahman anchorites, issuing oracular responses from the depths of forests, whom Arrian described in his account of Alexander's Indian campaign. Professors rather than priests, we find them acting as poets, historians, teachers, physicians, ambassadors and prophets. They possessed landed property, to which the Christian clergy in time succeeded; but unlike their brethren of Gaul, the Irish had no arch-druid, hierarchy or regular synods. Indeed, druidical religion emphasized the centrifugal tendencies of the clan system, and a private chaplain seems to have been in attendance on each local chief.

Christianity broke upon the shore of Ireland like a most gentle wave. It brought not only a religion but an entire culture, for classical literature, stripped of the pagan associations of its native soil, came over as the hand-maid of the Faith; and the Irish, already a nation of scholars in their own tradition, took to the classics with an enthusiasm untempered by the inhibitions of the continental Church. At the start, there was inevitable opposition from the druids, but nowhere was there less of persecution; Ireland saw not a single Christian martyr.

The old trade-routes, which gave Tacitus (6) some knowledge of the country, and brought in a multitude of Roman coins from the reign of Nero onwards, were the path followed by the gospel; but this peaceful penetration has left no record of its origin, and we know only that by 431 there were sufficient numbers of the faithful in Ireland to warrant the sending of a bishop from Rome (7). By name Palladius, he is a shadowy figure, and vanishes in a couple of years. But an apostle of consuming zeal was ready to take up his mantle. Patrick already knew his chosen mission-field; for, in the forays of Niall of the Nine Hostages, Columba's great-great-grandfather, he had been carried off captive from Britain at the age of sixteen. Organizing the Christians already in the land, converting the still pagan districts of the West, Patrick made Ireland a part of universal Christendom; an ancient canon (8), for which he was probably responsible, provided for the appellate jurisdiction of the Pope; "no less than Augustine, no less than Boniface, he was the bearer of the Roman idea" (9). But wisely he let his local knowledge direct the course of mission. Ireland was wedded to the clan system, and she must accordingly be converted in her clans; the

(6) Agricola 24.

(7) Prosper, Chronicon, in Haddan & Stubbs, Councils &c. II ii p.290.

(8) Wasserschleben, Kanonensammlung xx 5 p.61.

(9) J.B.Bury, Life of St Patrick (1905) p.221.

chiefs were first evangelized, and their retainers, still half in superstition, inevitably followed. Though Armagh enjoyed a sort of primacy under his immediate successors, there were no cities to provide the seat of metropolitans; nor would the jealous clans obey a bishop other than their own. Hence each tribe must form a separate diocese; there could be no national hierarchy or fixity of sees; and the bishop would inherit the druid's position as domestic chaplain to the chief. Tirechan, writing towards the close of the seventh century, says that Patrick consecrated no less than 450 bishops for the Irish Church (10), though in fact he can name only about 40; the "Catalogue of the Saints of Ireland", of a slightly later date, numbers 350, all founders of churches (11); the Senchus Mor (12), by enacting the same "dire" fine, and consequently dignity, for bishops as for rulers, suggests that there was intended to be at least one bishop for each local chief. The numbers may be exaggerated, but the conclusion is manifest. True to the independence of the Celtic mind, every tribal group formed a self-sufficient congregation, equipped with a chief pastor of its own. So little acceptance was there for the idea of a territorial hierarchy, that we hear of only one synod meeting regularly; so

(10) Book of Armagh fol. 9 b1.

(11) Haddan and Stubbs, Councils &c. II ii p.292.

(12) Ancient Laws of Ireland I p.41.

widely was the bishop regarded as holy man and hermit, rather than administrator, that many colleges of seven bishops in a single place are found (13). This congregational episcopate was a feature of the early church (14), but its persistence in Ireland is significant of the structure of society and the love of local freedom. Bernard of Clairvaux noted that the Irish bishops were "changed and multiplied, without order, without reason...almost every church must have its own separate bishop" (15). And the effect upon monastic institutions was profound. Separated from the rest of Europe by the tide of barbarian invasions, Ireland went upon her individual way; local peculiarities, barely suppressed by Patrick, again emerged; there is darkness over a land still semi-pagan, until in the sixth century, under a succession of great abbots, the Irish Church has become almost exclusively monastic. A new type of clan had been founded, the spiritual family of the cloister. Monks formed but a small proportion of the followers of Patrick. But at some time after the death of the one figure of national pre-eminence, the bishops withdrew into their cells, and the active part of the Christian population was led into solitude by zealous priests(16).

(13) O.Plummer, Irish Litanies (Henry Bradshaw Society, vol. lxii) pp.66-75.

(14) Bingham, Antiquities of the Christian Church p.51 foll. Dict. de theol. cath. V ii cols.1692-3.

(15) Vita Malachiae cap. x (P.L. 182 col. 1086c).

(16) The development can be traced in the Three Orders of the "Catalogue of the Saints of Ireland." (Haddan and Stubbs, Councils &c. II ii pp.292-4).

Sometimes the abbot was in bishop's orders, more often not; always he occupied among his disciples the position of clan chief. Land, perhaps previously owned by druids, was granted in perpetuity to the religious tribe, whose leader, known throughout successive generations as "coarb" or heir of the first abbot, was chosen whenever possible from amongst the founder's kin. Failing suitable candidates of such condition, the succession was elaborately governed by the principle of natural or spiritual affinity (17); on occasion, following the practice of the civil law, a tanist-abbot might be appointed during the lifetime of his predecessor (18). Though secure from interference in the entire government of his church and lands, the monastic chieftain required the services of a bishop for the ministrations peculiar to his order; and to secure complete self-sufficiency for the religious clan, one of their number was promoted to the episcopal rank. Such a bishop had neither diocese nor jurisdiction, but was simply the domestic chaplain of his religious chief, to whom, whether priest or even woman (19), he owed entire obedience. These monastic arrangements, deriving directly from the clan system, can be paralleled from Mount Sinai (20),

(17) Ancient Laws of Ireland III pp.73-5.

(18) C.Plummer, Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae I p.cxvii.

(19) St Brigit had a domestic bishop in her nunnery; this perhaps gave rise to the later legends that she herself, alone among women, had been made a bishop (Lives of the Saints from the Book of Lismore, ed. W.Stokes pp.40 and 188).

(20) Chronicon Ademari III, 47, ed. Waitz, M.G.H. Scriptores IV (1841) p.137 note 9.

Monte Cassino (21) and Fulda (22), but outside of the Celtic Church they were extremely rare. Bede (23) truly describes the quasi-metropolitan authority of the priest-abbot of Iona as "ordine inusitato"; to the continental churches it seemed the utter perversion of all ecclesiastical order. Yet it is of first importance in understanding the stand taken by Columban in France -- he regarded himself as the independent master of a self-sufficing tribal group.

According to the strange fallacy of the Magdeburg Centuriators and their school, the ancient Irish Church was Protestant in doctrine, Presbyterian in polity. Even in the nineteenth century, Ebrard (24) was letting the imagination run riot over his beloved Culdees, and Healy was claiming that he found no trace of "Romanism" in any of the ancient documents (25). Oddly enough, the source of error lay in one or two mediaeval chroniclers, who could see no good thing in Ireland before the Norman Conquest, and who pretended that earlier generations had apostatized, not only from Rome, but even from the fundamentals of the Christian Faith. Such is the account of the anonymous monk of Rhuys; the Irish lapsed into paganism in the sixth century, and were only reconverted by Gildas at the entreaty of the

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- (21) Cambridge Mediaeval History VI p.556.
 - (22) Bollandists' Acta Sanctorum October viii p.165 E.
 - (23) Hist. Eccl. III 4. (P.L. 95, 122 A).
 - (24) Die iroschottische Missionskirche (1873).
 - (25) J.Healy, The Ancient Irish Church (1892) pp.36-7.

High King (26). St Hildegard goes even further in her life of Disibod -- "at this time, while the saint was directing that people in the faith by word and by example, a great mockery, a great schism put all the country in a turmoil; some rejected the Old and New Testaments, denied Christ and embraced the heresies of the heretics, or followed the sect of the Jews, while others returned to paganism, and others in their depraved instincts began to live, not humanly, but in the mixed manner of beasts" (27). Unfortunately, we know nothing of the date of Disibod, and his life is fantasy; as for Gildas, his alleged mission has been worked up out of a friendly correspondence on monastic discipline. It is true that Pelagius' commentaries continued in use for several centuries, and that traces of his heresy remained, against which John IV warned the Irish in 640 (28); true again that in her remoteness Ireland had little to guide her but the Scriptures, and that her children, as Bede puts it (29), could only practise "such works of piety and chastity as they might learn from the prophetic, evangelical and apostolic writings"; and true finally that an independent race clung stubbornly to such native customs as its antiquated calculations for

(26) Life of Gildas II cap XI, Bollandists' Acta Sanctorum Jan. ii p.960.

(27) P.L. 197 cols. 1099-1100.

(28) Bede Hist. Eccl. II 19 (P.L. 95, 113 B).

(29) Hist. Eccl. III 4 (P.L. 95, 122 B).

the date of Easter. But these are mere externals, and even in externals the Irish followed Catholic practice in their severe penances and their saining with the Cross; they accepted contemporary doctrine on the Eucharistic Sacrifice (30) and prayers for the dead; and, although they had little opportunity to demonstrate their loyalty, none of them hints at a doubt of the primacy of the Roman Pontiff. Papal infallibility was not then a doctrine of the Church; but Columban in his fifth epistle clearly regards Rome as the chief source of teaching and authority, and it is his very respect that fills him with horror at the prospect of an erring Pope. The ancient canon on appeals has been mentioned already, and it was invoked a bare generation after Columban, at the Synod of Maglana -- "it seemed good to our predecessors ... that if greater causes arose, they should, in accordance with the synodical decree, be referred to the Eternal City; we have sent envoys whom we knew to be wise and humble, like children to their mother" (31). These envoys took two years to fulfil their mission, a telling commentary on the difficulty of communication from remote corners of the world;

(30) Numerous references in J. Ryan, Irish Monasticism (1931) pp. 345 foll.

(31) Cumnán, Epistle to Segienus, written c. 630 (Ussher Works IV p. 442). The whole question has been fully treated by J. C. MacNaught, The Celtic Church and the See of Peter (Oxford, 1927); and it is really no longer possible to believe that Cumnán's letter represents an innovation in the Irish attitude to Rome.

but the fact that they were sent is sufficient indication of the attitude of the ancient Celtic Church.

There was indeed great diversity of customs, rendered the more painful by the doggedness of Irish individualism, and pointing the sarcasm of the pacific Cummian: "Rome errs, Jerusalem errs, Alexandria errs, the whole world errs -- the Irish and the Britons alone think rightly" (32). The date of Easter, the form of the tonsure, the content of the liturgy, the manner of administering baptism and consecration were all points on which the Celtic differed from the continental Church; and of these the Easter computations, setting, when they disagreed, a visible opposition between the two observances, formed the occasion of the most bitter and prolonged dispute. Under the old covenant, the Jews had kept their Passover on the fourteenth day of the first month, eating unleavened bread for the week following; their first month was that of which the fourteenth, or full moon, immediately followed the vernal equinox, and in order to harmonize the lunar months with the solar years, they had been accustomed to employ a cycle of eighty-four years' duration. Christianity introduced a further complication. Christ's Resurrection was celebrated weekly upon Sundays; should the annual commemoration of the same event fall upon a Sunday also, and if so, which was

(32) Cummian, Epistle to Segienus (Ussher Works IV pp.438-9).

the appropriate Sunday ? Many Christians of Asia Minor, called Quartodecimans, kept Easter on the fourteenth of the first month, whatever the day of the week might be; but the Church at large was agreed to keep it only on a Sunday. But now the question arose of the chronological relation of Resurrection to Passover; if Christ suffered on the same day as the Paschal lambs were killed, ought not Easter to fall later by at least two days ? Hence, some kept Easter on the fourteenth, if that chanced to be a Sunday, others in these circumstances postponed it by a week, finding their warrant in the seven days of unleavened bread; and there was precisely the same dubiety, if Sunday fell upon the fifteenth of the lunar month. No less than three calculations were involved in the solution of this complicated problem -- first, to ascertain the correct date of the vernal equinox; second, to devise a means of keeping solar and lunar times in harmony, so that the full moon following the equinox might be found; third, to decide upon the days of the month between which Easter could legitimately fall. We are not here concerned with the elaborate system of intercalations in the ancient calendars. It is sufficient to remark that, on the first calculation, the Western Church at first accepted March 25th as the date of the vernal equinox, but Rome later changed to the 21st which had been the Athanasian date; while both the second and third calculations, involving the annual cycles and the week-day terms, were subject

to repeated alteration. Until the middle of the fourth century, in the West March 25th was in vogue as the equinoctial date, the Jewish cycle of eighty-four years was employed, and Easter was celebrated on the fourteenth of the lunar month, if that fell upon a Sunday; on this system, Easter might be kept on any calendar date from March 25th to April 21st inclusive, according to the proximity of equinox and subsequent full moon. In 343, while keeping the eighty-four year cycle, Rome adopted the Athanasian equinox and decided to postpone Easter by a week, if Sunday fell on the fourteenth or the fifteenth day, thereby bringing forward by two days the earliest permissible calendar date. But the old Jewish cycle proved to be defective, and in 457 there was general agreement in adopting a cycle of five hundred and thirty-two years, compiled by Victorius of Aquitaine, which had the effect of lengthening the calendar period up to April 24th. Finally, in 525, Rome adopted the nineteen-year cycle of Dionysius Exiguus, which permitted Easter to fall on the fifteenth, but not the fourteenth, day of the lunar month. Thus the four stages in the Roman method of computation were the following (33):-

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- (33) Adapted from J.B.Bury, Life of St Patrick (1905) p.372. There is a very full discussion in B.MacCarthy's preface to Annals of Ulster IV (1901), and B.Krusch has some useful remarks in his introduction to Jonas (Script. Rer. Merov. ex M.G.H. separatim editi, 1905); see also the article by H.Leclercq s.v. "Pâques" in Dict. d'archéol. chrét. et de liturgie XIII ii 1521-74.

<u>Period</u>	<u>Equinoctial Date</u>	<u>Length of Cycle</u>	<u>Lunar Terms</u>	<u>Calendar Terms</u>
1. (up to 343)	March 25th	84 years	14-20	Mar. 25th-Apr. 21st
2. (343- 457)	March 21st	84 years	16-22	Mar. 23rd-Apr. 21st
3. (457- 525)	"	532 years	"	Mar. 23rd-Apr. 24th
4. (after 525)	"	19 years	15-21	Mar. 22nd-Apr. 25th

The third method, that of Victorius, was accepted by the French at the Council of Orleans in 541 (34), and it remained in force in that country at the time of Columban; Gregory of Tours (35) has the picturesque story of an attempt to determine the true Paschal date by the miraculous filling of certain Spanish fountains for the baptisms frequently occurring at that season. But the Irish, up to the seventh century, stubbornly adhered to the first and earliest method of Easter computation. This must have been established before the time of Patrick, and Ireland remained in ignorance of later innovations through her continual isolation from the continent. When renewed contact brought discussion, the practice of the ancient church was invoked, and Columban, Columban and Bede all accepted in good faith a spurious fabrication, the so-called Canon of Anatolius (36), which

(34) Concilia ed. Maassen I p. 87.

(35) Hist. Franc. V 17 and X 23 (P.L. 71, 332 B and 554 C).

(36) P.G. X cols. 209-22. The forgery was first detected by van der Hagen, De Cyclis Paschalibus (1736) pp. 136 foll.

purported to support the Irish system. This was firmly believed by its adherents to be both Catholic and Roman, as indeed it once had been, and Columban, when faced by the rival contemporary systems of France and Italy, clung the more devoutly to his own. At the very end of his life, it is possible that he may have conformed to Roman usage (37). But before that, in company with the majority of his fellow-countrymen, he had to face the charge of quartodeciman heresy -- an accusation that was in fact inaccurate, for he only kept Easter on the fourteenth of the lunar month, if Sunday fell upon that day; and on an average of two years out of every five, he found himself celebrating Easter, and all the feasts whose date depended on it, on a day differing sometimes by more than a month from that observed by his continental neighbours; for if the moon was full on or immediately after March 21st that was taken as the Paschal moon by the churches of the continent, while the Irish, believing March 25th to be the true date of the equinox, were obliged to wait until the subsequent full moon. It has been necessary to devote some space to this dry topic, for it formed the substance of much of Columban's correspondence, and the occasion of many of his woes.

The tonsure was a mark whose precise form varied in different localities. Always the removal of the freeman's flowing

(37) This question, which will be discussed later, depends on the authorship of one of the epistles attributed to Columban and of the tract De Saltu Lunae.

locks was accepted as a sign of servitude to Christ. In some parts of the East, the head was completely shaven, in a manner whose origin was attributed to Paul. But at Rome, and in the West generally, the so-called Petrine form found favour, by which only the top of the head was shaven, and a fringe of hair, symbolic of Christ's crown of thorns, was left around it. The Irish, however, had their own peculiar manner of tonsuring, described as "norma magica", and attributed by its opponents to Simon Magus. As "magus" is the usual Latin equivalent for druid, it would be more reasonable to conclude that the Irish tonsure was derived, or was believed to be derived, from a druidical original. In the time of Patrick, it seems there was a conflict between the Roman and the native models. The sixth of the canons attributed to Patrick and his fellow-bishops (38) enjoins that the tonsure of clerics be "more Romano"; yet the Catalogue of the Saints of Ireland states that at this period the head was shaved "ab aure usque ad aurem", which, whatever it means precisely, cannot be taken to describe the coronal form. The same phrase occurs in a letter ascribed to Gildas (39) -- "omnem capitis anteriorem partem ab aure ad aurem tantum contingebat." In the story (40) of the conversion of the two druids Mael and Caplait, who were tutors to King Leary's daughters, there occurs

(38) Haddan and Stubbs Councils &c. II ii p.328.

(39) ib. I pp.112-3.

(40) Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, ed. W.Stokes I p.105 and II p.317.

the apparently ancient saying, "Mael is like Caplait"; and as Mael is the Erse for "shorn", while Caplait is the Latin "capillatus", the meaning may well be that the native is as good as the foreign tonsure (41). At all events, that native tonsure persisted, and it was of the following form: the entire back half of the head, behind the ears, was left with its hair long, while only the forehead was shaven, and a narrow fringe remained above the eyes. Thus Geolfrið tells King Nechtan (42) that the crown of hair which might appear in front would vanish when looking from behind; and the Cotton manuscript, Otho E XII fol. 112 verso, uses similar language, "... ut a Simone Mago Christianos discerneret, in cuius capite cesarie ab aure ad aurem tonsa anteriore parte, cum antea Magi in fronte cirrum habebant" (43). Columban suffered no opposition on the tonsure during his life-time, but after his death the monk Agrestius made it one of his charges against the Irish customs (44).

The same turbulent monk complained that the Irish used an excessive number of collects in their liturgy; the "Epistle of Gildas" merely says that the British, and therefore the Celts, differed from the rest of the world in the Mass as well as in the tonsure (45). Traditionally, the "Cursus Scottorum" was

(41) See J.B.Bury, Life of St. Patrick, pp.239 foll.

(42) Bede, Hist. Eccl. V 21 (P.L. 95, 278 D).

(43) See J.Dowden, Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot. XXX (1895-6) pp.325-37; also L.Gougaud, Les Chrétientés Celtiques (1911) p.196.

(44) Jonas, Vita Columbani II 9.

(45) Haddan and Stubbs, Councils &c. I pp.112-3.

supposed to have been derived from St Mark, through Cassian and the South of France (46); though the details of this account are confused, the connection is not impossible, and the Celts may well have favoured the elaboration of the Eastern rites. Skene (47) even thought that they celebrated in the vernacular, through a misinterpretation of the phrase "nescio quo ritu barbaro" in Theodoric's Life of St Margaret (48). But in point of fact, we do not find Irish liturgical practice treated as a uniform whole prior to the eighth century; Columban (49) says "varie a diversis de eo traditum est", and the Catalogue of the Saints remarks that the Second and Third Orders "diversas missas celebrabant et diversas regulas" (50). The Stowe and other surviving Missals of Irish origin merely represent a version of the rite customary in the West before the time of Gregory the Great. There was some local peculiarity in the administration of baptism -- probably single instead of trine immersion (51). There was also some doubt about the validity of Irish orders, for consecration was usually performed amongst them by one bishop instead of three (52); and Theodore insisted on re-imposition of hands for all priests who had been ordained by Irish or British bishops (53)

(46) *ib.* I pp.139-40, quoting an anonymous account, probably dating from the eighth century.

(47) Celtic Scotland II p.349.

(48) Haddan and Stubbs, Councils &c. II i p.158.

(49) Regula Monachorum cap. VII.

(50) Haddan and Stubbs, Councils &c. II ii pp.292-3.

(51) F.E.Warren, Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church (1881) p.64; Bede, Hist. Eccl. II 2 (P.L. 95, 83 C).

(52) L.Gougaud, Les Chrétientés Celtiques pp.203 foll.

(53) Haddan and Stubbs, Councils &c. III p.197.

But, although they differed from continental usages in ordination, baptism, worship, tonsure and the date of Easter, in the matter of clerical celibacy the Irish fully accepted contemporary teaching, while sometimes descending to the level of contemporary practice. It is important to emphasize this point, as several of the older writers have assumed that married clergy were widely tolerated in ancient Ireland. Patrick indeed was the son of a deacon and grandson of a priest, but these may have separated from their wives after ordination -- such separation is demanded by the sixth of the canons ascribed to Patrick (54), which enacts that a priest's wife must take the veil. The Irish Penitentials insist on clerical celibacy (55), and the Ancient Laws of Ireland (56) -- a compilation which must be used with caution, owing to uncertainty of the date of its component parts -- state categorically that "every bishop is bound to purity... i.e. chastity." In the ninth century, the throne of Munster was occupied by a succession of married bishops, but this represents a local aberration, and not the general rule. Women, however, enjoyed a prominent position in Irish society, and in the Church, they sometimes gave spiritual direction, or even ruled mixed monasteries of monks and nuns. They were not exempted from military service till the year 590, and the civil

(54) Haddan and Stubbs, Councils &c. II ii p.328.

(55) Finnian, canon 27; Columban, B 8.

(56) V pp.459 & 461; also I p.55.

law, permitting concubinage and frequent divorce (57), remained, in spite of the efforts of the Church, largely pre-Christian in its attitude to marriage.

The general lines of ecclesiastical development from Patrick to Columban -- a numerous secular episcopate passing into the rule of abbot-priests, the loss by Armagh of its primacy, an increasing diversity of monastic and liturgical practice, a growing asceticism -- are summarized in an eighth-century document known as the Catalogue of the Saints of Ireland (58). This divides its subject into three periods or "Orders", whose dates are fixed by the reigns of Irish kings, and about which there is much dispute; most probably, the Second Order is intended to begin in 543, the Third in 599. Its account is in the following terms. "The First Order of catholic Saints was in the time of Patrick. And then they were all Bishops, famous and holy and full of the Holy Spirit, 350 in number, founders of churches. They had one Head, Christ, and one leader, Patrick, one Mass, one celebration, one tonsure from ear to ear they bore. They observed one Easter, on the fourteenth moon after the vernal equinox; and what was excommunicate by one church, all excommunicated. The service and society of women they did not shun; for, founded on the rock of Christ, they feared not the wind of temptation. This Order of Saints lasted

(57) Ancient Laws of Ireland II pp.342-409.

(58) Ussher, Brit. Eccl. Antiquitates pp.913-5; Haddan and Stubbs, Councils &c. II ii pp.292-4.

for four reigns, that is, in the time of Leary, and Aila Muilt, and Lugaid son of Leary, and Tuathail. All these Bishops were descended from Romans, Franks, Britons and Scots. -- The Second Order was of catholic Priests. For in this Order there were few Bishops and many Priests, to the number of 300. They had one Head, our Lord, and kept different Masses and Rules, one Easter on the fourteenth moon after the equinox, one tonsure from ear to ear; they renounced the service of women, separating them from their monasteries. This Order lasted throughout four reigns, that is, from the closing years of Tuathail, and through the whole reign of King Diarmait, and of the two grandsons of Muredaig, and of Aed the son of Ainmerich. They received a Mass from the Britons, Bishop David, Gildas and Docus; and their names are these. The two Finniains, the two Brendans, Iairlaith Tuama, Comgall, Coemgen, Ciaran, Columba, Cainnech, Eogen mac Laisreus, Lugeus, Ludeus, Moditeus, Cormac, Colman, Nesan, Laisreanus, Barrindeus, Coeman, Ceranus, Conan, (Endeus, Aedeus, Byrchinus) and many others. -- The Third Order of Saints was this. They were holy Priests, and a few Bishops, to the number of 100; they dwelt in desert places, lived on herbs and water and offerings (of the faithful), sought not their own, kept different Rules and Masses and a diverse tonsure - for some had the crown, others the hair - and a diverse Paschal celebration. For some observed the Resurrection on the fourteenth or the sixteenth moon, with harsh designs. These lived for four reigns, that is,

Aed Alain, who ruled only three years because of his evil thought, and Domnail, and the period divided between the sons of Maelcobi and Aed Slaine; and they continued up to the great mortality. These are their names..... The First Order was holiest, the Second holier, the Third holy; the First shone as the sun, the Second as the moon, the Third as the stars."

It would be wrong to conclude from this account that the Irish Church, gradually withdrawing into its cells, ceased to play an active part in the national life. Possessing the right of sanctuary, and an effective power in cursing, directing education and letters, and succeeding to the druidical privilege of regulating ordeals, it figured as the helper of the weak, the asylum of the fugitive and the arbiter of justice. Three clerics assisted three kings and three poets in the revision of a fundamentally important law-treatise, the Senchus Mor. In 575, Columba played a leading part in the politics of the convention at Drumceatt; and in the previous year, he had anointed Aidan King of Dalriada, thereby establishing the independence of the Scottish kingdom, and setting a precedent for this form of coronation ceremony (59). But in one institution above others -- that of penance -- the Irish Church exerted its most profound influence, and through the characteristic pattern which this developed, it ended by revolutionizing the entire ecclesiastical

(59) cf. J.Ryan, Irish Monasticism pp.306-7.

discipline of the West. Confession, penance and reconciliation had been practised in the ancient Church with the most alarming publicity; the bishop held the keys of discipline, and the congregation of the faithful watched the entire process. Such discipline was sufficiently terrible to deter all but the most contrite, and there was a doubt whether serious sinners could obtain absolution more than once. Sozomen (60) describes this publicity in the fifth century; Pope Leo (61) condemned the practice of forcing penitents to read publicly a prepared statement of their sins, "lest many be deterred from the remedies of penance." But the old system continued, and was warmly supported by Gregory the Great, as a valuable exercise in humility. The monks, however, had from the beginning practised a more humane and gentle form of spiritual direction, in the private conference of juniors with their seniors; this "confession of devotion" might be repeated as often as desired, it lacked the stigma of publicity, and as it was intended only for the inmates of the monasteries, it did not at the outset require the basis of a fixed and rigid penitential code. So far as our knowledge goes, it was first made available to the laity in Ireland, where monasticism had flourished so vigorously that in many localities the abbot filled the place normally assigned to the diocesan. Here, the Church owed the people, amongst other things, "the

(60) Hist. Eccl. VII 16.

(61) Epistle 168, 2 (P.L. 54, col. 1211A).

receiving of every son for instruction and of every tenant to right repentance" (62). Not only the tenants of monastic lands, but all prospective penitents would naturally seek the wise and kindly guidance of some holy abbot, and the direction he would give them would be that normally offered to his monks. Not being in bishop's orders, he could not exercise the public censures of the Church; but he could suggest appropriate forms of self-discipline and restitution. Privacy removed the bar to frequent confession; and the very multitude of penitents imposed the necessity of formulating standard codes. Thus arose the Irish penitentials, which, taken to the continent by Columban, became the basis of the entire discipline of penance in the later mediaeval Church. There are traces in this system of the influence of native Irish law, particularly in the institution of money-payments in recompense for sins committed against individuals (63), which was regarded (64) as a compromise between Christian forgiveness and pagan retaliation. Some writers have even seen in the Irish system a deposit of primitive Aryan practice, and quote remarkable parallels from the Brahman codes (65).

(62) Ancient Laws of Ireland II p.345.

(63) See J.T.MacNeill in Revue Celtique xxxix (1922) pp.257-300, and xl (1923) pp.51-103 and 320-41.

(64) Ancient Laws of Ireland I p.15.

(65) Apastamba I 9,24,28 prescribes (cf. Columban Pen. B 1) for the murder of a Kshatriya, a heavy fine, followed by 12 years of exile as a beggar, and then a ritual reconciliation. -- See further Sir H.S.Maine, Early Law and Custom p.162.

But the growing influence of Christian monasticism is seen in the type of penances enjoined -- fasting on bread and water, solitary exile, pilgrimage -- with the result that the penitent was obliged for the time being to become to all intents a monk. And through the whole series, from Patrick (66) through Gildas to Finnian and Columban, there is an ever-increasing severity of punishment. Once initiated, the process continued a steady advance; auricular confession, and much of the fabric of mediaeval piety owed its origin to the peculiar fervour of Irish monastic life.

The traditional account of how the monks invaded Ireland is as follows. Arising first in Egypt, monasticism was introduced to Europe by the exiled Athanasius; Cassian nourished the seed in Southern France, it was transplanted to Britain by Germanus of Auxerre; Illtud, ordained by Germanus, established a notable monastic school on Caldey Island, where David, Cadoc, and Gildas were taught; Finnian of Clonard was their pupil; and Finnian, the master of twelve great abbots of the sixth century, brought the flower to its full Irish bloom. This bald story raises many problems, for the existence of Illtud's school is somewhat dubious, and there were monks in Ireland, though certainly not many, in the time of Patrick; but it can at least be said of Irish monasticism, that it owed its ultimate inspiration to Cassian and the Egyptians, and that the immediate stimulus to

(66) Patrick's Canons are accepted as genuine by MacNeill following Bury -- Revue Celtique xxxix p.259.

its period of great activity came, in the early sixth century, from Wales and possibly Strathclyde. It was at once an institution and a spirit, compound of ascetic zeal and mystical devotion, an inner life framed in an external rule. Like their Egyptian forebears, the Irish monks dwelt in little groups of bee-hive cells, with oratory and surrounding cashel-wall; they wore a white habit, with girdle, cloak and hood; their time was divided between prayer, instruction and manual work. Unlike the Egyptians, they bound themselves to formal vows of poverty, chastity and obedience (67), though their rule of life, up to the time of Columban, was a matter of oral tradition rather than written legislation. The ideal was heroic, the discipline far harsher than that imposed by Benedict; if Ireland had no saints who had sealed their faith in the "red martyrdom" of actual death, she was determined to profess the "white" and "green" martyrdoms, renunciation of external possessions and mortification of the inner man (68). Fasting on a modicum of food, taken only in the evenings, while sometimes perpetual, was always observed at least on Wednesdays and Fridays, outside the Paschal season, and throughout the periods of Lent and Advent; while the monk would undertake special fasts to secure particular favours from heaven,

(67) The evidence, which comes largely from the writings of Columban, is collected by Ryan, Irish Monasticism pp.238 foll.

(68) See Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus, ed. Stokes and Strachan, II pp.246-7.

much as his pagan ancestors had fasted on their adversary's doorstep as a recognized form of legal process (69). The food was chiefly vegetables, flour and bread, but might be improved as the demands of hospitality required. At Iona, the menu included seals and fish; milk and beer were allowed by all except the strictest; but meat, oil and butter were on the whole forbidden luxuries. Prayer was often made with the arms extended for long periods in the shape of a cross -- "crucis vigilia" or "cross-figell" -- and the fires of temptation were sometimes extinguished by standing neck-deep in cold water to recite the Psalms. Clothing was sufficient to withstand the climate, with a change for use at night; sandals were worn, and gloves provided to protect the hands at work. Silence was observed, except for short periods of recreation, and the long night-office left little time for sleep. The whole way of life was adapted to promote recollection and self-discipline, sometimes culminating in short retreats or permanent seclusion in a hermit's cell. Martin had had his hermitage when bishop of Tours, Ninian employed a cave near Whithorn for the purpose of retreat (70); Columba withdrew for special quiet to the isle of Hinba (71); many Irish place-names compounded with "disert" (desert or secluded spot) commemorate the practice, and Guthbert died in the "desert" at

(69) J.T.MacNeill in Revue Celtique xl p.333.

(70) W.Douglas Simpson, St Ninian and Christian Origins in Scotland (1940) p.76, makes out a good case for this.

(71) Adamnan Vit. Col. III 18 etc.

Lindisfarne; while Columban, at each of his separate foundations, chose a remote hermitage for his personal retreats. Yet the monks were united by such strong affection, that monasterium, corrupted to "muintir" became the normal Erse for "family". Unquestioning loyalty and immediate obedience were fortified by the practice of confession, made under the Columban system once each day; and at the daily round of the Divine Office, all hearts were joined in performing the highest human work. By the time of Columban, that Office was based on the canonical Hours of Vespers, Vigils, Terce, Sext and None, with the night-office, or Vigils, divided into two; the Antiphonary of Bangor adds Prime and something corresponding to Compline, called "ad initium noctis", making a total of eight Hours in the twenty-four. The Psalter provided the staple of devotion, interspersed with antiphons, collects and Latin hymns, and private meditation was expected to follow upon public prayer. The length of the night-offices was varied according to the season of the year, being longer in winter and correspondingly shorter on the short nights of summer-time; the Vigils of Saturdays and Sundays were always the most important service, and from November to March no less than seventy-five psalms were recited on each of these two nights (72). The day-time Hours were very much more brief --

(72) These details are from Columban's Regula Monachorum chapter VII, which is expressly based on the common practice of his native land. The extended Vigils at the week-ends are a feature derived from Egyptian usage.

three psalms together with six versicles and prayers -- and might be said in the fields when the monks were working at a distance from their monastery; their labour was also begun and ended with short prayers. Bernard (73) says that the "laus perennis", a system of perpetual praise maintained by relays of successive choirs, was established at Luxeuil; but it is unlikely that this was known there as early as the sixth century, and a phrase of Columban's -- "omnes simul orantes" -- proves that it was not in use at the time when his Rule was written. There were no private Masses, but a common celebration on Sundays and festivals, at which all normally received communion in both kinds. The priests celebrated jointly, unless a bishop were present, when he did so by himself alone (74); vestments (75) and ceremonial ablutions (76) are mentioned; the Reserved Sacrament was carried in "chrismals" worn about the neck (77); and almost every description (78) of the rite implies a belief in the Real Presence and the Eucharistic Sacrifice. A sermon usually followed the Gospel on Sundays, and there may have been less formal preaching on week-days as well. Spoons, lights and

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- (73) Vita Malachiae VI (P.L. 182 col. 1082 C).
 (74) Adamnan Vit. Col. I 44.
 (75) Plummer, Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae II p.123.
 (76) Adamnan Vit. Col. II 45 ("manuum et pedum peracta lavatione, ecclesiam....intrantes").
 (77) Columban, Regula Coenobialis VIII and XV.
 (78) "Christi corpus ex more conficere" (Adamnan I 44),
 "Immolabant Agnum immaculatum Deo omnipotenti" (Plummer, Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae I p.125) and many more.

various utensils were customarily blessed, the sign of the Cross regularly used. Viaticum was administered by his abbot to the dying monk (79); a Mass was offered for the defunct, and another one month after burial (80). The prayers of the Saints were invoked (81), their relics treasured (82).

Farming, building, gardening and other forms of craftsmanship occupied much of the monk's day; it is to the monasteries that labour owes its dignity. But "to the Irish mind, an illiterate monk was a contradiction in terms" (83), and a rich intellectual training was available to all who could profit by it. In the fifth century, Christian schools had been founded at a number of places, including Armagh, Kildare and Nendrum, where the ruins of a large stone school-house have been discovered; the sixth century added Aran, Clonard, Clonfert, Moville, Clonmacnois, Derry, Durrow, Bangor, Clonenagh, and Glendalough; the seventh, Lismore and a few others. Scripture was the chief object of study; the "sui littere" -- Doctor of the Sacred Text -- came to rank equal with the pagan ollamh (84), whose training occupied twelve years; and the entire Psalter

(79) Jonas I 17.

(80) Adamnan Vit. Col. III 11-2; Jonas II 12.

(81) Antiphonary of Bangor, ed. Warren fol. 15 verso and 17 verso; Stowe Missal, ed. Warner II pp.3 and 7.

(82) Adamnan Vit. Col. II 45; Stowe Missal p.9.

(83) J. Ryan, Irish Monasticism p.378.

(84) MacNeill, Law of Status in Proc. Royal Irish Acad. xxxvi C, 1921-4, p.313.

was often learnt by heart, just as the bards had qualified according to the number of tales they could recite. Latin language and literature were also studied, together with "the ecclesiastical rules" -- dogma, canon law and ritual; and a certain amount of very elementary Greek seems to have been known. Books, which cannot have been numerous, were carried in satchels, or hung upon the walls when not in use; penmanship was developed into an art of extraordinary beauty. In the seventh century, English lads flocked to study, free of charge, in Ireland's schools (85). The native students, from whom the monks were recruited, came almost entirely from the upper and middle classes, including the prosperous masters of the various crafts; though some, like Adamnan, would earn their schooling by waiting on the richer youths. Under the Irish system of fosterage, a boy would be sent for his education to a monastery, and many vocations to the religious life would naturally develop there. No regular novitiate is mentioned, but the students must have been expected to take some part in the religious life of the monastery to which their school was attached; and boys of seventeen, if satisfactorily instructed, would be given habit, tonsure, often a new name, and admitted to the monastic order at once. Profession was made in the oratory on bended knee, and the usual vows were sworn; these were intended to be permanent -- Columban classes

(85) Bede, Hist. Eccl. III 27 (P.L. 95, 165 B).

abjuration with murder, fornication and theft (86) -- though the insistence on "stability" indicates that the Irish monks were sometimes inclined to migrate from the monastery of their first choice. To depart as far as possible from home and kindred was regarded as a commendable mortification; but once professed in religion, the monk was forbidden to leave without his abbot's blessing, even though he desired the seclusion of a hermit cell. Absolute authority, limited only by a flexible tradition, was entrusted to the abbot, and exercised in a large establishment through a group of seniors and "praepositi", amongst whom the cellarer occupied a leading place. One of the younger brethren attended the abbot as a sort of secretary or "minister". A generous entertainment of strangers was the responsibility of all. Faults, even very minor ones, were visited with extra fasts, whipping and other punishments of the severest kind. Sometimes monks and nuns occupied adjoining monasteries, though there is nothing peculiarly distinctive of Ireland in the practice (87). A group of monasteries might form a loose federation, owing to some connection of their founders, but there was nothing corresponding to the later religious Orders at this time. Several written rules are mentioned, but none survives of a date earlier than that of Columban. No trace remains of the once

(86) Columban, Penitential A 3.

(87) Kildare is the only Irish double monastery known in the sixth century.

famous rule of Ciaran of Clonmacnois, nor of that which an angel was said to have dictated to Brendan of Clonfert, nor again of that which Molua is reputed to have dispatched to Rome for the inspection of Pope Gregory the Great; and there is serious doubt of the authenticity of the short rules, written in ancient Erse, ascribed to Ailbe of Emly, Columba of Iona and Comgall of Bangor. Ascetic principles rather than detailed legislation formed the legacy of these early saints.

Yet the sixth century was prolific of outstanding monks. Finnian, who died in 549, transformed Clonard into a strictly disciplined community, containing according to tradition (88) no less than 3000 souls. The figure is a conventional exaggeration, but from Clonard a band of apostles went out to fill Ireland with fresh and populous communities; their names vary in the different accounts and there is a tendency to include all of the best-known figures, but for what it is worth, this is the list most commonly accepted -- Columba of Derry and Iona, Ciaran of Saigir and his namesake of Clonmacnois, the two Brendans, of Clonfert and of Birr, Colman of Terryglass, Molaisse of Devenish, Cainnech of Aghaboe, Ruadan of Lothra, Mobi of Glasnevin, Sinell of Clusain Innis (Gleenish) and Nannid of Innis Maige Sam. Outside of this circle, the greatest was Comgall, who founded Bangor about 558; and there was Finnian of Moville, together with many

(88) Colgan, Acta Sanctorum I p.401.

more. Behind this fervour of fresh foundations, which after filling Ireland and Scotland broke in a great flood upon the continent, there lay a restless love of roaming inherent in the Celtic heart. Wandering as strangers on the earth, setting forth ever further into lands unknown, the Irish were driven forward by many motives; in part they desired to mortify a love of homeland, in part they were filled with missionary zeal, in part they simply followed the immemorial "Wanderlust" of the race. The Life of Brendan and the Legenda Aurea tell how "Brendan, son of Finnlug, sailed over the wave-voice of the strong-maned sea, and over the storm of the green-sided waves, and over the mouths of the marvellous awful bitter ocean, where they saw the multitude of the furious red-mouthed monsters with abundance of the great sea-whales. And they found beautiful marvellous islands, yet they tarried not therein." Yet at last these "hallowed pilgrims" found their land of promise -- "a land odorous, flower-smooth, blessed, a land many-melodied, musical, shouting for joy, unmournful" -- a land whence returning voyagers might say, "We have been in the land of Behest, tofore the gates of Paradise, whereas is ever day and never night. And they said all that the place is full delectable, for yet all their clothes smelled of that sweet and joyful place..." God's words to Abraham -- "Exi de terra tua" -- are repeated time and again like a deep burden in the old Erse Life of Columba; it is the epic of the sagas, purified by a new intensity of zeal, turned into the

"service of God in penitence, that is, in pilgrimage" (89).

"Pilgrimage" is the refrain echoed over and over in the Lives of the Irish saints -- "peregrinatio pro Dei amore, propter nomen Domini, ob amorem, pro amore, pro nomine Christi, pro Christo, pro remedio animae, pro adipiscenda in caelis patria, pro aeterna patria." It was this yearning for a world beyond that sent Columban through France and Switzerland to Italy; and, making the habit of travelling "almost second nature to the Irish" (90), followed him with a mighty stream of pilgrims to every country of the West.

(89) Ancient Laws of Ireland III p.31.

(90) cf. Vita S. Galli, auctore Walahfrido, II 46.

CHAPTER TWO

Life of St Columban

1. Youth and Education.

The personality of Columban stands out in vivid relief from his contemporary Irish back-ground, owing to the bulk of his surviving literary works; and these writings provide not a few details for the reconstruction of his life. Where they imply definite conclusions, these must be the primary authority; the silences must be filled in from another source. It is fortunate that his biography was written, in the generation immediately following his death, by an author who possessed exceptional facilities for obtaining accurate facts. In 618, Jonas entered the monastery of Bobbio, where Columban had died only three years before; after serving as secretary to Abbot Attala, he was asked by Bertulf, the third abbot, to compile the founder's life. Already acquainted with the first-hand evidence of those disciples who had followed Columban to Italy, Jonas in 640 visited France, to gather materials from his hero's foundations in that country. The resulting Life, together with a second volume describing Columban's immediate successors, was published in the year 643(1). Though written in a barbarous Latinity, and

(1) Jonas' Life of Columban was edited by B. Krusch in M.G.H. Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum IV (1902), and a convenient separate edition published in 1905.

concerned chiefly with the miraculous element, this production has a historical value unusual in the literature of hagiography. Jonas was chosen by his superiors as the most suitable person to perform an important task; his fear of criticism, frequently expressed, adds to his general credibility; he had access to all the documents that were preserved. Moreover, much of his story is based on eye-witness accounts -- Attala and Eustasius provided a mine of information, Theudegesilus (I 15 & 17) Sonicharius and Gall (I 11) added information of their own; Chagnoald (I 17) had talked to Jonas before his death in 632-3; Potentinus, who accompanied Columban in exile, Donatus and others were still alive. Jonas is candid enough even in his treatment of the living; Romaric, Abbot of Remiremont, had been sadly deceived by the turbulent Agrestius, but the whole story is mercilessly told. Only in four points does he go astray -- he gives an impossible date for Columban's arrival in France; he passes over in silence the unpleasant quarrel with Gall on leaving Switzerland; and, by omitting to mention those controversies, over the date of Easter and the theology of the "Three Chapters", on which his hero took the unorthodox side, he has given a wrong emphasis to certain passages of prime importance. But apart from these three omissions and one error of fact, Jonas provides a trustworthy account. The Lives of Gall, by Wettinus and Walafrid Strabo (2), though written some two hundred

(2) Both in M.G.H. Scriptores Rerum Merov. IV (1902).

years later, and drawing largely upon Jonas, add some details of local colouring in Switzerland; life at Bobbio is illustrated by the tenth-century "Miracula S. Columbani" (3); and other biographies, in particular those of Walaric, Agilus and Salaberga, add a meagre quantity of extra information. Gregory of Tours ended his Historia Francorum in 591, and makes no mention of Columban, but the salient events of the saint's sojourn in France are described in a partial and inaccurate chronicle, written about 650, and passing under the name of Fredegarius.

Only the date of Columban's death is undisputed: Sunday, 23rd November, 615 (4). On the year of his birth, arrival in France, and the duration of his stay, the evidence conflicts, and scholars differ. First, as to the date of his birth: -- the poem addressed to Fidolius states (line 163),

"Nunc ad olympiadis ter senae venimus annos" with the variant "senos" for "senae". An Olympiad is properly a period of four years, but the Latin poets occasionally use it as the equivalent of the five-year lustrum. At the time of writing, Columban would thus have been either nearly 72 years old, or else nearly 90, according to the meaning; and, assuming that he wrote near the end of his life, he would have been born either about the year 543, or else about eighteen years previously. In

(3) M.G.H. Scriptores XXX ii (1934).

(4) Jonas I, 30; Martyrologium Hieronymi (Acta Sanctorum, Nov. II i p.146); Wettinus Vita S. Galli cap. 26.

view of the undiminished intellectual and physical vigour which he displayed right up to the end, the later date is preferable; and this is the only direct evidence we possess on his date of birth. Professor Gwynn (5) indeed denies that the poem is from the pen of Columban; but there are no grounds for doing so, apart from the difficulty of reconciling it with the chronology implied by Jonas. That difficulty arises over the date of Columban's first settlement in France. The evidence of the saint's own writings points to the year 591 for that event, for his second epistle (6), written in 603, states plainly,

"... usque nunc licuit nobis inter vos vixisse duodecim annis..."

So far, this agrees with the account of Jonas: Columban, who was exiled in 610 (7), left

"vicesimo anno post incolatum heremi illius" (8).

But Jonas also says (9) that he left Ireland at twenty, or, according to a variant reading, thirty years of age -- thus

(5) In Studies VII pp.474-84.

(6) Ep. II para.6; this letter was written prior to the death of Gregory the Great in 604, and it mentions Arigius (para.5), who became Bishop of Lyons in 603 (cf. Analecta Ballandiana lxiv pp.207-8).

(7) On leaving, he prophesied the succession of Clothaire, which occurred in 613, as due to take place "intra triennium" (Jonas I, 20); the prophecy was exactly fulfilled (Jonas I,29).

(8) Jonas I, 20.

(9) Jonas I, 4; the age of twenty is utterly impossible, in view of the time spent on the saint's education.

giving a date for his birth impossible to reconcile with the evidence of the poem to Fidolius. There is a further complication, for Jonas adds (10) that Columban arrived when Sigebert was reigning over Austrasia and Burgundy; in fact, Sigebert died in 575, and was king of Austrasia alone. It is possible that Columban first settled under Sigebert, and did not found Luxeuil until after the union of the two kingdoms under Childebert II in 593; Annegray, his first foundation, actually lay inside Austrasia, while Luxeuil was situated just across the Burgundian border. But the two places are sufficiently close to be described as one "desert", and, although it is strange that Jonas should have been misinformed on the name of his hero's first patron, it is impossible to set aside the express statement of the second epistle; if Columban had actually arrived as early as 575, one would inevitably expect some mention of him in Gregory of Tours; and the Lives both of Agilus and of Salaberga (11) place his arrival in the reign of Childebert. The date 591 must therefore stand; Childebert succeeded in 575 to the Austrasian throne, and inherited Burgundy from his uncle in 593; Annegray was founded just before, and Luxeuil after, this event. Jonas seems to have been led into error by some such line of thought as this: -- not having definite information, he believed Columban

(10) Jonas I, 6.

(11) Vita Agili cap. 1-2 (AA.SS.Ben. II 316-7); Salabergae cap. I ii (Bolland. AA.SS. Sept. VI p.521).

to have left Ireland at the "perfect age" of thirty years (for this, in spite of his editor, must be the true text); calculating forward from his known date of birth, he was led by this belief to assume that the first French foundation took place in the reign of Sigebert; and he consequently found himself obliged to ante-date the union of the kingdoms. The result was an inconsistency with his later correct statement of a twenty years' stay in France; but the error, if it be thus explained, is actually a further confirmation of the birth-date given by the poem to Fidolius.

It was then about the year 543 that the infant Columban first saw the light of day. His name seems to have been given by his parents -- there is no record that he adopted it on profession as a monk (12). A diminutive of Colum or Columba, having Colman as an alternative form, it was one of the commonest of names amongst the Irish saints; one of his own earliest disciples bore it, Adamnan mentions no less than five, and in the Book of Leinster there are 228 Colmans and 19 Colums recorded. Perhaps some tenderness of disposition led to his being called after the gentle dove, perhaps it was an early presage that the Holy Spirit

(12) Jonas gives the name sometimes as Columbanus, sometimes as Columba; in his letters, the saint always calls himself Columba, but the acrostic poem to Hunaldus employs the longer form. It may also be read as Colum Ban ("Colum the Fair"); and this may be the reason why the shorter and less pretentious form is preferred in the saint's later Works.

would descend on him in full measure. According to the legend (13), before his birth his mother had a night-vision of a brilliant sun, which was said to foretell great qualities in the child that was to be. Jonas tells only that he was born in Leinster (14), without mentioning the place of his home or the condition of his parents; and in view of this silence, the tradition that the saint was of noble, if not royal, parentage (15), must remain exceedingly dubious. Most Irish boys were sent to a foster-father for their education, but Columban's mother, out of a too devoted care, kept him closely in the leading-strings at home. He was given a Christian up-bringing, and studied his grammar and letters, probably under the tuition of a neighbouring priest. But in such surroundings, his brooding soul was early turned inwards on itself; the habit of solitude combined with an eager desire for adventure in some wider field. The pilgrim-spirit developed in him as he wandered through the lonely forests and communed with nature and with God; religion had been the paramount influence of his home life, but it must be religion of a chaste and solitary kind. The boy grew into a youth of such beauty that he was sorely tempted by the advances of some local girls; he

(13) Jonas I, 2.

(14) Jonas I, 3.

(15) See H. Concannon, The Life of St Columban (1915) p.6; Jonas (I, 3) has the phrase "pubertas nobilis", but this may refer to character rather than social status.

returned to his books in consternation, and to the studies in which he had already shown considerable proficiency, he added those of rhetoric, geometry and Holy Scripture; but in reading he could find no solace for a troubled mind. At last a day found him, consumed with the deep longings engendered by an inner strife, at the door of a religious woman, who had retreated to the seclusion of a hermitage. "It is fifteen years," she told him, "since I left home and sought this place of pilgrimage... Never since have I looked back; and, did not the weakness of my sex prevent me, I would have crossed the sea as pilgrim to a better place. -- But you, burning with the fires of youth, keep to your native soil, compelled to listen in your frailty to frail voices, and thinking that you can freely consort with womankind. Have you not heard of Adam, fallen through the wiles of Eve; Samson seduced by Delilah; David, his first righteousness corrupted by the beauty of Bath-sheba; Solomon, wisest of men, beguiled by the love of women? -- Hasten, young man, hasten to escape the ruin which, to your own knowledge, has engulfed so many; flee from the road that leads to the gates of Hell." (16)

Thus vehemently was the young man's decision forced upon him; he must leave home to seek the cloister, forsaking kindred for the love of God. His mother, desperate in a love that would retain him, flung herself across the door-way as he sought to

leave; but the son, having perhaps already studied the advice of Jerome (17) on a like occasion, stepped over her prostrate body and was gone. A character, inflexibly determined to the point of harshness, had been formed.

The young wanderer was first attracted to Gluain Innis, an island on Lough Erne; here the magnet was the abbot Sinell, one of Finnian's twelve disciples, and famous for his knowledge of the Scripture. Columban was not yet ready for profession as a monk, but he joined Sinell's monastic school, and made such progress in scriptural studies that he was able, while still of a tender age, to compile a learned commentary on the Psalter, which unfortunately has not survived. Sinell's method of teaching was by question and answer, and under this discipline his new scholar at once displayed a remarkable breadth and acuity of mind, tempered by the slight hesitation of a becoming modesty. His leisure hours were claimed by the muse of sacred poetry; he "composed many works that were profitable for instruction or suitable for song" (18). Classical Latin had enchanted him, and

(17) Jerome Ep. XIV 2 (P.L. 22,348): "Licet parvulus ex collo pendeat nepos, licet sparso crine et scissis vestibibus ubera quibus te nutrierat mater ostendat, licet in limine pater iaceat, per calcatum perge patrem, siccis oculis ad vexillum crucis evola. Solum pietatis genus est in hac re esse crudelem." Columban's writings prove him to have been acquainted with the works of Jerome.

(18) Jonas I, 3 sub fin.

he turned the advice given by the anchoress into two elegiac couplets -- the poem "In Mulieres" -- contrasting the Redemption wrought through Mary with the Fall of which Eve had been the source. It was probably also at this time that he wrote a longer poem, running to thirty stanzas in the typical stressed rhythm of mediaeval verse, on the vanity and brevity of life. There is the same horror of the fair sex --

"Caveto, filiule,
Feminarum species,
Per quas mors ingreditur,
Non parva pernicies" (19).

There is much moralizing on wealth and beauty as roads that lead to Hell, an almost sepulchral dwelling on the universality of corruption and decay. But the conclusion, which describes in haunting melodies the joys of heaven, shows where the young poet's heart was set.

He had determined to become a monk, and chose to take his vows in a monastery of the strictest rule. Bangor had been founded by Comgall, about the year 558, on the shores of Belfast Lough; it was already noted for the severity of its discipline, the devotion of its abbot, and the scriptural basis of its life --

(19) Carmen de Mundi Transitu, lines 61-4.

"Benchuir bona regula,
 Recta atque divina,
 Stricta, sancta, sedula,
 Summa, iusta ac mira...
 Virgo valde fecunda
 Haec, et mater intacta,
 Laeta ac tremebunda,
 Verbo Dei subacta" (20)

Under this "good rule", after long prayer and fasting, Columban, about his twentieth year, was professed. His ordination to the priesthood must have followed in a few years' time; it is unchronicled by Jonas, but in the festal verses which conclude the first volume, he is addressed as "priest". The monastery grew -- according to Bernard (21) it came to contain several thousand monks, -- and it possessed a flourishing school. Columban's talents pointed him out for the work of teaching, and in course of time, he became the monastery's principal lecturer (22). His pupils were numerous, including perhaps Cormac, prince of Leinster (23), and the task assigned to him was both

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- (20) Antiphonary of Bangor fol. 30 (ed. F.E. Warren II p.28).
 The communion antiphon used by Columban's disciple Burgundofara (Jonas II,16) is from the same work.
 (21) Vita Malach. VI (P.L. 182, 1082 B).
 (22) Wettinus Vita Galli (M.G.H. Script. Rer. Merov. IV p.257);
Vita Deicolae (J.O'Hanlon, Lives of the Irish Saints I p.304).
 (23) Vita Comogalli cap. III xl (Bolland. A.A.SS. May II p.586).

responsible and hard, a combination of academic teaching with the closest approach made in Ireland to the position of master of the novices. He could still write poetry in his scant leisure -- Hunaldus and Sethus may well have been former pupils who received parting instruction in the poems that bear their names -- but obedience demanded that he remain strictly at his post. Yet through all the long quiet of his time at Bangor, the thirty years of service in a subordinate capacity, restless longings occupied his mind, his feet yearned to lead others into more distant fields, he "began to desire", as Jonas says (24), "the pilgrimage." The Irish monasteries were accustomed to send out colonies, under the leadership of a senior monk, and Columban, now in his late forties, was well qualified to become an abbot on his own. But Comgall was unwilling to lose his lecturer, the more so as he entertained the strange fancy of going out into a foreign land, in literal obedience to Abraham's marching-orders; and without his abbot's blessing, the rule forbade that Columban should leave. His earnest and repeated intreaties, however, were probably reinforced by news coming from Iona, where Columba, a personal friend of Comgall's, had settled some twenty-five years previously, and had already shown that a distant pilgrimage could bear rich fruit for the benefit of the Church at large. In the spring or summer of 590, Comgall was persuaded to agree.

(24) Jonas I, 4.

In token of his dignity as leader of a new apostolate, Columba had been followed by twelve disciples; Columban was permitted to take the same number from the monks of Bangor. Gall was the most distinguished, and both his fishing-net and his knowledge of foreign languages were to do good service in the new community. The young Domoal came as secretary, Comininus, Eunocus, Equonanus and a second Columban are also named (25). Lua and Potentinus, whose nationality is not recorded, may have been of the twelve; Deicola also, for he joined Potentinus in following Columban into exile, which only the Irish and British monks were allowed to do. The names of the others are unknown; Gurganus, a Briton, must have joined upon the journey, Autiernus, who desired to go on pilgrimage to Ireland, can scarcely have been an Irishman by birth. But it is very probable that one of the original party was a bishop. A Bishop Aidus consecrated the altar at Luxeuil (26); his name is Celtic, and his presence enabled Columban to act in independence of the hierarchy of his adopted land.

Why France was chosen, it is useless to enquire. There was neither deliberate purpose nor precise information to direct the choice; Columba had gone Northwards, the new voyagers would

(25) Jonas I 9, 13, 17; Lua and Potentinus are mentioned in 21, Gurganus in 13, and Autiernus in 11. For Deicola, see Acta Sanctorum Jan. 18th. Libranus, mentioned by Columban in his fourth epistle (para. 3) bears an Irish-sounding name; but as he remained at Luxeuil when the rest were exiled, it is doubtful whether he was of Irish race.

(26) Columban, Epistle IV para. 4.

therefore turn towards the South; and they simply travelled onward, until they found a "desert" that suited their desires. The missionary motive was not absent -- they sought "si salus ibi serenda sit" (27) -- but it was not dominant, for they were quite prepared, on meeting opposition, to move further on; moreover, had they desired converts rather than solitude, the pagan Angles offered a far more hopeful field for mission than a country whose monarchs, alone among the sovereigns of Europe, professed the Catholic Faith. France was in a turbulent condition, its morals at a remarkably low ebb; but it possessed no qualities of particular attraction to Columban, except its distance from his native land. Ships sailed direct from Ireland to the mouth of the Loire, but Jonas, in an obscure passage (28), says that the party travelled by way of the "British shores". His words could apply either to Great Britain or to Brittany; Walafrid (29) took them of the former, for he writes, "venerunt Brittaniam et inde ad Gallias transfretarunt." The eleventh-century Chronicon Centulense (30) records a tradition that Columban landed near St Riquier, which would imply a crossing of the English Channel; while the place-names St Coulomb on the gulf of St Malo, and St Columb on the shore of Cornwall, may be a memorial of the saint's

(27) Jonas I, 4.

(28) Jonas I, 4-5, and Krusch ad loc.; L.Gougaud in Annales de Bretagne XXII (1906-7) pp.327-43; H.Concannon, Life of St Columban (1915) pp.295 foll.; E.J.MacCarthy, St Columban (1927) pp.195 foll.; J.Roussel, St Colomban (1942) I p.97 & II pp.225-31; D.Chute in Downside Review lxxvii (1949) pp.304-11.

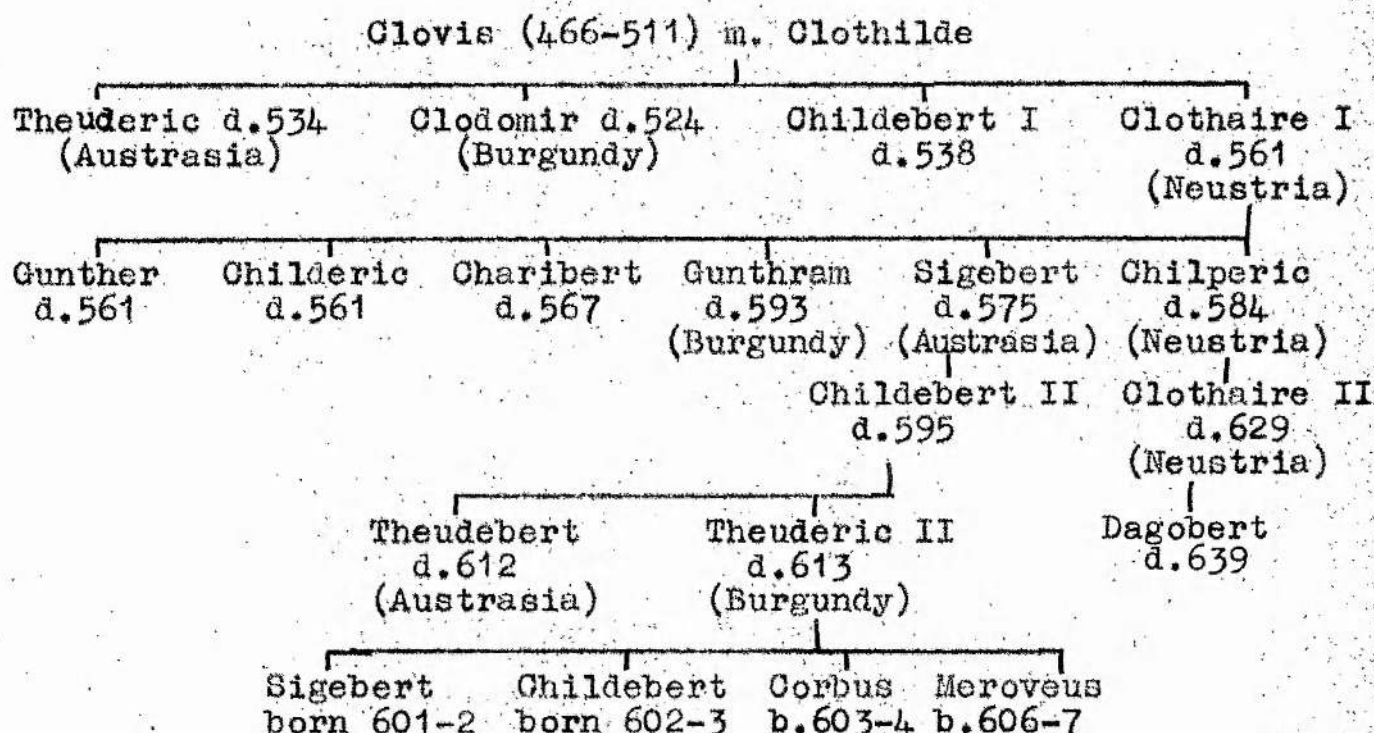
(29) Vita S. Galli I cap. 2 (M.G.H. SS. Rer. Merov. IV p.286).

(30) I cap. 6. (P.L. 174, 1220 D).

passage by that route. Enough time was spent upon the journey to gather a few disciples; with this short delay, Columban arrived in France.

2. Merovingian France.

To Clovis, when he became a Catholic in 496, "the identity of the three persons of the Trinity was a military and political operation" (1); this Machiavellian founder of the Most Christian Monarchy, though glad to accept the insignia of consulship in 508, had unluckily no time to study the provisions for succession devised by Roman law, and his conquests were treated by the monarch's family, not as a public magistracy, but as a private inheritance. In order to follow the fatal division of the kingdom between his sons and grand-sons, a genealogical table (2) may be of some assistance.



- (1) Quoted from Funck-Brentano by A. Maurois, History of France (trans. H.L. Binsse 1949) p.30.
- (2) Adapted, with corrections and additions, from T.S. Holmes, The Christian Church in Gaul (1911) p.569.

These names all have a warlike meaning suitable to the bellicose character of the kings who bore them. Clovis, whose legendary ancestor, Meroveus, was a deity with naval interests, enjoys a name signifying "fight of glory"; Clothaire means "famous in war"; Chilperic, "brave ally"; Sigebert, "brilliant by victory"; Gunthram, "crow of battle" (3). France under their domination was a turmoil of civil war, intrigue and assassination, while the kingdom was parcelled out, like private property under the Salian law, in equal proportions to all the heirs male of the founder. The great divisions which emerged from his son's jealousies were three -- Neustria, lying between the Loire and the Meuse, with its capital at Soissons; Austrasia, with its capital at Metz, extending from the Meuse across the Rhine into parts of Germany and Switzerland; and Burgundy, covering the Rhone valley and the districts South of the Loire, its nominal capital at Orleans, but its court usually settled at Chalon. Paris, remaining neutral territory, provided a common meeting-place for all. Clothaire I, the last surviving son of Clovis, succeeded in re-uniting the entire kingdom, whose division had perhaps been justified in the initial stages, by a need for local supervision while the Merovingian family consolidated its new power; they had walked into a vacuum, created by the fall of Rome, and required to occupy it piece by piece. What could not be justified was a renewal of the same divisions on Clothaire's

(3) F.Lot, Naissance de la France (1948) p.169.

death. Two of his sons had predeceased him, a third, Charibert of Aquitaine, died in six years' time; then, in 567, the old threefold division was re-established between the three surviving sons. Something might have been done to retain the country's unity, but no elder statesman existed of sufficient eminence to take the lead; monarchy was still a new conception to the nation, and all the half-divine children of Meroveus seemed equally entitled to the plenitude of royal power. Gunthram of Burgundy, always called the Good King by Gregory of Tours, had some idea of statesmanship, and worked for peaceful co-operation and a stable rule; Gregory's adulation of him may have been tinged with cupboard love -- he admits that the king "cherished him with sweet affection and loaded him with gifts" (4) -- but there is no doubt that Gunthram was the wisest of a family, whose other members were madly prone to fratricidal strife. Chilperic of Neustria, "the Herod and Nero of the times" (5), was a luxurious glutton, dabbling in the rationalism of Arian theology, and seeking to domicile four Greek letters by a pedantic statute aimed at spelling reform; "an atrocious and ridiculous tyrant, who dreamt, among all his crimes, of increasing the number of the letters of the alphabet, and of reducing that of the persons of the Trinity" (6). The third brother, Sigebert of Austrasia, took

(4) Gregory of Tours, Hist. Franc. IX 20 sub fin.

(5) ib. VI 46.

(6) Montalembert, Monks of the West (English trans. 1861) II p.279.

to himself a remarkable woman for his wife, the talented and ambitious Spanish princess Brunhilda; her honourable character, political sagacity and charming conversation made a marked impression on Gregory (7), her beauty was celebrated by Fortunatus in a Latin Bridal-song. Perhaps in that rough court she was the only person able to understand the lisping elegiacs of the poet, but the marriage was a happy one, and produced a son, Childebert, and two small daughters. Chilperic was moved by this spectacle of conjugal felicity to seek the hand of her elder sister, Galswintha; but the King of Neustria was already enslaved to a mistress of servile origin and character, Fredegund "the enemy of God and men" (8), who had the new queen quietly strangled on the morrow of her marriage. When the Austrasian court exploded in a natural fury, Gunthram secured a temporary reconciliation by arranging for the transference of Galswintha's dowry as wergild for her death; but the threatened civil war between Sigebert and Chilperic broke out in 573, and continued between their kingdoms with intermissions for the following forty years. At first, Chilperic devastated his brother's country, until he was repulsed by auxiliary troops, called in from the tribes across the Rhine; then, at Vitry in 575, Sigebert was assassinated in the hour of triumph by the envoys of Fredegund. His son, Childebert, managed to escape, but Brunhilda was made prisoner by her enemies; this

(7) Hist. Franc. IV 27.

(8) ib. IX 20.

astonishing woman at once contracted an astonishing alliance, being secretly married at Rouen to Meroveus, the son of Chilperic. Hoping to ensure her personal safety for the moment, and in a more distant future to promote the unity of a divided nation, she was undeceived by Chilperic, who first had his son ordained and imprisoned in a monastery, and then ordered his execution when he attempted to escape. He was able, in the disorder following defeat, to corrupt the loyalty of the Austrasian nobles, who, headed by Aegidius, Bishop of Rheims, promised the victor their support; and, with the stage thus ripe for revolution, Chilperic thought it politic to allow Brunhilda to return home. But Gunthram stood by her; his own sons had died of the plague -- it was endemic in France for the latter part of the century -- and he made her son Childebert his heir. With Austrasia thus wooed by Burgundy, Chilperic made a lightning change of plan; he too was now childless, he too would adopt young Childebert; the boy -- he was no more than eleven years of age -- having lost his natural father, found himself pursued by an embarrassing superfluity of adoptive ones. These arrangements, engineered by Bishop Aegidius, were intended merely to consolidate Chilperic's interest with the Austrasian nobles; and Gundowald, a pretended son of Clothaire I, was let loose on Burgundy, where he continued to make trouble until his death at the siege of Comminges in 585. But Brunhilda was saved by a mutiny amongst the soldiers; sent to support the usurper's attack on Burgundy, they demanded that their own

boy-king should enjoy his proper rights. The junto of the nobles was defeated by this demonstration of popular affection for the royal house; Aegidius fled; and Chilperic, in 584, was murdered by the hand of an unknown assassin. Both Brunhilda and the widowed Fredegund were accused of instigating the crime (9); a count Sunnigisil (10) later confessed to it under torture; and it remains a mystery. Before his death, Chilperic had had a son, Clothaire II, who was now the rightful king of Neustria; Gunthram took him under his protection, and appeared in church to appeal for public tranquillity; and the Good King renewed his alliance with the Austrasian branch of the family by the Pact of Andelot in 587. Childebert had married Faileuba, and Brunhilda was busy arranging a match between her daughter and Reccared of Spain. On the death of Wandelinus, her mayor of the palace, the Austrasian Queen Mother refused to replace him, choosing to keep the reins of government, so happily recovered, in her own control. It was during this interlude in a chronicle of blood-shed that Gregory of Tours laid down his pen -- "I am weary," he wrote (11), "of narrating all the changes of these civil wars, which waste the kingdom and nation of the Franks... If civil war be sweet to thee, O King, give thyself to that which the Apostle has revealed to us in the heart of man, to the war of the spirit

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- (9) Hist. Franc. VII 7; Fredegarius cap. 42.
 (10) Hist. Franc. X 19.
 (11) Hist. Franc. lib. V prolog.

against the flesh..." It was also at this point that a dozen Irish monks arrived in the kingdom; but it will be convenient to continue its political history for a few years further here.

Gunthram, dying in 593, left Burgundy to his nephew Childebert, who was thus able to unite under his sceptre the two major thirds of France; death deprived him of the vast inheritance in a bare two years' time. Under the terms of his will, his elder son, Theudebert, received Austrasia, Burgundy passing to Theuderic, the younger; but an unwise provision transferred Alsace, where Theuderic had been brought up, from the Austrasian to the Burgundian domains; and there was a coolness between the two brothers from the start. When Theudebert married Belhilda, Brunhilda thought it wise to settle in Burgundy with her younger grand-son; if there was an open rupture, news of it failed to reach the outside world, for Pope Gregory in his correspondence still treated her as Regent of the two kingdoms; but the jealous seeds of civil warfare had again been sown. All France was now parted between three minors, dominated by two widowed Queens. Fredegund, lurking behind the Neustrian throne, attempted to interfere in the interests of her offspring, but was smartly put in her place, and died in 597. By 600, Clothaire had lost parts of Neustria to Theudebert; a desultory frontier warfare continued for four years more; then, after the indecisive battle of Etampes, peace was made between the two. Their alliance seemed

menacing to Burgundy, and Protadius, the mayor of the palace, sent troops against Austrasia; but he was murdered by his own officers, and in 605, the sons of Childebert made peace. An opportunity was offered by this lull in the hostilities for further conquests in the matrimonial field; Theuderic, though plentifully supplied with concubines, had as yet no legal wife; and the young monarch now found himself confronted with a formidable consort, who bore the name of Ermenberg. A Spanish princess, she failed to survive her period of approval, but, more fortunate than Galswintha, was simply sent back home. Brunhilda has been blamed for her dismissal, Fredegarius (12) insinuating that she feared a loss of influence, if her grand-son took a wedded wife. In point of fact, the projected marriage was of Brunhilda's own devising, for Ermenberg came from her own country, and Aredius, who fetched her, was a special favourite of the old Queen. Theuderic had failed to see, what his grand-mother could have told him, that political repercussions were bound to follow his rejection of the Spanish girl. King Wetteric of Spain now organised a coalition directed against Burgundy, of Theudebert, Clothaire and the Lombard Agilulf. Ever since his accession, Theudebert had dreamt of recovering Alsace, which, now fortified by his new allies, he ravaged in 610. But Neustria proved a shifting quick-sand, Clothaire the mere puppet of a mobile

(12) cap. 30; cf. Jonas I 18.

aristocracy; transferring their support to Burgundy, they enabled Theuderic in 612 to win the battles of Toul and Tolbiac. Brunhilda attempted to save Theudebert by having him ordained, but he was executed, without benefit of clergy, by his implacable and now victorious brother; who, taking the field against his late Neustrian supporters, died of dysentery at Metz in the following year. He left his indomitable grand-mother in charge of his four illegitimate sons; but Pepin and Arnoul, at the head of a country now tired of civil turmoil, called Clothaire to the throne of the three kingdoms, and brutally tortured Brunhilda to her death. This melancholy conclusion to a long and brilliant career made Clothaire, without further dispute, sole ruler of a re-united France, which he transmitted, whole and entire, to Dagobert his son. Under this monarch, who was still able to play some part in European politics, the Merovingians enjoyed their last brief glory. In 639, Dagobert, worn out by his many spouses, died of premature senility at the age of thirty-four; thereafter, the divine house of Meroveus withdrew into the comfortable twilight of a constitutional monarchy, leaving the government to those mayors of the palace, who, in the eventual issue, were to become the founders of the second dynasty of France.

Over this vicious family of petty gangsters, the spirit of Gunthram broods like a good genius, that of Brunhilda as a

mysterious source of deep plans and boundless power. Her character, in Gregory of Tours, is pure and princely; to Jonas and to Fredegarius, she has become the villain of a tragic piece. She is accused, amongst a catalogue of crime, of instigating her husband and her grand-sons to engage in civil war; of arranging for the assassination of one brother-in-law, and of scheming to place a usurper on the other's throne; of indulging in vicarious immorality, by encouraging the illicit connections of Theuderic; of perpetrating a series of judicial murders; of exiling Columban and executing Bishop Desiderius of Vienne; and finally, grown old in vice, of seeking to support the tottering fortunes of her orphaned great-grandchildren, by launching on their defenceless country a horde of wild barbarians from the German tribes across the Rhine. The last accusation is indeed true, for when Theuderic had died, she tried to engineer an invasion of the Avars; alone and friendless, she had no other helpers left. Columban, as will be told later, was exiled, at a moment of crisis, on the pressing demand of the French clergy, and for proven antagonism to the reigning house. Desiderius was murdered, without official orders, by his escort, and those whom she in fact executed had all been clearly convicted of high treason. So far from encouraging the vices of Theuderic, she sought him a wife from her own kith and kin. Apart from the unsubstantiated statements of her enemies, there is no evidence for her complicity, either in the murder of Chilperic, or in the

attempt by Gundowald to usurp the Burgundian throne. And the protracted civil warfare was the result, not of her own passions, but of ambitious madness in her relatives, which she vainly sought to quell (13). It is the misfortune of commanding characters to arouse consuming hatreds; not even the misery of her cruel death sufficed to soften the vindictiveness with which Brunhilda has been traduced by later chroniclers. Fredegarius merely reproduces the back-stair gossip of a palace of intrigue; Jonas, wilfully blinded by admiration for his hero to the true causes of Columban's exile, was prejudiced against her from the start. But Brunhilda, seeking to govern a society that would not endure sound government, spent her long career in one perpetual struggle to defend the royal power; amidst the machinations of the French nobility, she championed with masculine courage the Pax Romana and the cultural heritage of Rome; a sincere Christian and pious benefactor of the Church, she won plaudits from Pope Gregory the Great. The secret of her character comes out in a letter to her daughter's son (14) -- "To the Prince glorious and ever mentioned with a love unspeakable, her most sweet grand-son King Athanagild, Brunhilda the Queen. I have obtained, my dearest grand-son, the long-desired and most fortunate opportunity

(13) The most elaborate vindication of Brunhilda is that by G. Kurth, "La Reine Brunehaut", in Revue des Questions Historiques vol. L (1891) pp. 5-79.

(14) M.G.H. Epistulae III (1892) p. 139.

of recalling my memory in a letter to your lovely eyes. Your image, so often longed for, helps to bear me up; for it brings back to me my dear daughter, whom the power of evil took away. Nor do I lose my child entirely if, by the grace of God, her offspring is preserved..." Brunhilda was, before all else, a mother.

She demonstrated her piety by the foundation of abbeys, churches and hospitals, her active interest in church government by a correspondence with the Pope; in which the extent of the royal influence in matters spiritual is measured by the tact with which Gregory is obliged to insinuate his own proposals. Up to this time, the French Church, while acknowledging the Pope's authority in name, had in fact been controlled directly by the crown, its councils meeting only by royal permission, its bishops being royal nominees; the Popes possessed estates in the South of France, but the rector appointed to administer this patrimony was little more than a mere bailiff, and devoid of legatine authority. Gregory and Brunhilda initiated that alliance between the French court and the Papacy, which was to make of France the nucleus of Western Christendom. Himself an austere monk and unwilling Pope, a missionary by desire and politician from necessity, who, in the course of a proud conflict with the Patriarch of Constantinople, first assumed the lowly title of "servus servorum Dei", Gregory discerned that by supporting Brunhilda he might increase his hold upon her clergy. More than

half of the seventeen civil provinces of old Gaul had by now been raised to the status of Arch-bishoprics, their prelates residing at Trier, Rheims, Sens, Rouen, Lyons, Bourges, Bordeaux, Vienne, Narbonne and Arles. The divisions of the country and the fluctuating importance of the various towns had prevented the rise of a primatial see, but Arles, formerly the seat of a Roman prefect, was marked out for especial honour. The pallium was requested for its Arch-bishop Virgilius in 595, and Gregory responded by appointing him Vicar Apostolic; at once employing him to suppress irregular and simoniacal ordinations, and soliciting the Queen's help in the same work. Candidus, the new rector of the Papal patrimony, he commended to Brunhilda's "praise-worthy and God-pleasing goodness" (15); for Augustine, on his mission to England, he asked the fullest French support. The pallium was bestowed on another of the Queen's favourites, Syagrius of Autun, though only a suffragan of Lyons, but it was refused to Desiderius of Vienne, who lacked the royal backing; moreover, Syagrius was ordered to make his own application (16), and was promptly engaged to the suppression of simony. Thus Gregory, while promoting only the Queen's candidates, cunningly bound them to himself; he requested more frequent councils, and even offered to send a legate to enforce the censures of the

(15) Epistle VI, 5, written September 595 (P.L. 77,796 C; M.G.H. Epist. I p.383).

(16) Epistle VIII, 4 (M.G.H. Epist. II p.6).

Church. Brunhilda, on her part, sought the Pope's help in securing an alliance with the Greek Emperor, and sent the charters of her religious foundations for confirmation at Rome; in which the vigilant Pontiff inserted a clause, severely limiting both royal and episcopal control (17).

It will by now have become apparent that, while religion still lingered in some monasteries, the French bishops tended to be worldly, ambitious and corrupt. They were mostly descended from that old Gallo-Roman aristocracy, which had taught its barbarian conquerors the refinements of civilized debauch. Each a petty despot in his diocese, immune from discipline in a society whose rulers set an example of the profoundest immorality, with some few exceptions they bought up huge cellars and handsome slave-girls, and devoted themselves to women and to wine. Eunius, a confirmed drunkard, fell in a fit while celebrating Mass at Paris; Guntharius of Tours became so besotted that he insulted guests whom he was no longer able to recognize (18). Bertram and Palladius are found cross-charging each other with licentiousness (19), and the chronicles and reiterated decrees of the period indicate the prevalence of vice. Scandal became so rampant that arch-priests, to preserve their reputation, were ordered (20) to have a cleric sleeping in their rooms; bishops

(17) Epistle XIII 7 and 11-13 (M.G.H. Epist. II pp.372 and 376 foll.)

(18) Hist. Franc. V 41; X 31.

(19) Hist. Franc. VIII 7.

(20) Council of Tours (567) canon 19 (Hefele-Leclercq, Conciles, French trans. 1909, III i p.189).

were to allow no woman into their chamber, unless in the presence of two deacons or two priests (21). Immorality in the clergy led to a growing externalization of religious forms. An affectation of dress called down the reproof of Gregory the Great; multiplied festivals took place in huge basilicas adorned with tapestries, mosaics and painted glass; the art of goldsmith and enameller concealed the absence of devotion with a rich outward show. Such luxury could be afforded by a society which, in spite of plague and warfare, was rich by the standards of the time; and whose Syrian and Jewish merchants raised a perfect Babel on occasions of popular rejoicing (22). The bureaucracy of the later Empire had imprinted its rigid caste-system on an enervated populace, which the irruption of virile barbarians contrived further to demoralize. Meanwhile, around the cosmopolitan gaiety of the cities, the patient life of peasants continued to be centred on the villas of their wealthy lords, where these decadent descendants of the senatorial estate, with a slight tincture of polite learning, carried on the local administration as they had done for generations before. The Franks settled in this rural community with the minimum of disturbance, perpetuating, alongside their own native customs, the Roman law for cases in which only Romans were involved. Money compensation for every sort of crime was brought in by the Salian legal system, which

(21) Macon I (583) canon 3 (ib. p.203).

(22) Hist. Franc. VIII 1.

took one third of the fines to fill the coffers of the king and the count who had pronounced judgement; as the Franks demanded that, in a case of murder, both male and female relatives be compensated, while the Romans demanded this only for the males, the life of an ordinary Frank came to be valued at twice that of a Roman (23); but the two races settled harmoniously side by side. Justice was administered by Counts, presiding over councils of "rachimburgi", or local magnates, with the ordeals by boiling water and compurgation still in use. There was a regular civil service, under the mayor of the palace; though the "schola palatii", where its members were thought to have received their education, turns out to have been, not a school, but the barracks of the Royal Guard (24). In all the work of administration, both secular and ecclesiastical, the Merovingians depended largely on that Gallo-Roman nobility, which still preserved some intellectual standards, and whose estates the invaders had curtailed but not destroyed; and it was from this class of landed gentry that a hierarchy of hunting (25) bishops had been drawn.

But in the country of Martin and Hilary, of Honoratus and of Cassian, the fervour of monasticism could not entirely die away. Ligugé, Lérins, St Victor and their many daughter-houses

(23) H. Brunner, Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte I (1906) pp. 326-8.

(24) F. Lot, Naissance de la France (1948) p. 234.

(25) That the French bishops sometimes kept dogs and falcons is proved by the 13th canon of the 2nd Council of Macon (585), which prohibits the practice; Hefele, Conciles III i p. 210.

had left the sweet music of their memory behind. Martin in particular, who remained a monk after mounting the bishop's throne, has always been a name to conjure with in France; of the four thousand odd French villages named after saints, Martin with seven hundred dedicated to him is by far the most popular patron; his tomb at Tours, where miracles converted Clovis, was a great place of pilgrimage, and Brunhilda called her abbey at Autun by his name; and under his patronage, chapels were dedicated both by Benedict at Monte Cassino and by Columban at Annegray. At its inception, the monastic movement had been much criticized in France for its alleged Gnostic and Manichaean trends; but once established, the institution quickly grew, receiving in the sixth century the stimulus of royal favour. Mabillon, in the course of his Annales, counted over two hundred monasteries established at this period in France; but these did not all exist simultaneously, and some were mere hermitages, with the result that the list of forty, catalogued by Gregory of Tours (26), though too short, is probably closer to the mark. Seventeen can be counted in the diocese of Tours, twelve in that of Clermont, seven around Bourges, and so on; Brittany, with its Celtic population, was especially prolific, the Eastern frontier, being more unsettled, remained almost entirely bare. There were

(26) T.S.Holmes, Christian Church in Gaul, pp.288 and 528 note 1. See also J.Ryan in Mélanges Colombaniens (1950) p.43; E.Martin, Saint Colomban (1905) p.27; J.Roussel, St Colomban et l'Épopée Colombanienne I (1941) pp.40-54.

nuns as well as monks, of whom the saintly Radegund, mother-in-law to both Fredegund and Brunhilda, was the chief. But the legend of St Maur at Glanfeuil must almost certainly be dismissed as a later fabrication, and if they were found in France at all, the Benedictines were not numerous until the following century. For the most part, the French monks, like the Irish, enjoyed no unifying Order, but maintained their separate local Rules; unlike the Irish, they were invariably subject to the secular diocesan within whose bounds they dwelt. Decrees repeatedly enacted by the French councils of the sixth century provided that no monastery or even hermitage should be founded without the bishop's consent; that the abbot, who must rule no more than one community, should report yearly to his bishop, and take no important decisions or receive gifts of property without permission, nor be absent without leave; that the monks' fasts and worship should be strictly regulated (27). Each one of these provisions Columban was now about to break.

(27) T.S.Holmes, Christian Church in Gaul pp.529-30; J.Ryan, Irish Monasticism pp.297-8; Hefele-Leclercq, Conciles III i pp.170, 188 etc.

3. A Desert in the Vosges.

The small band of Irish pilgrims raised no little stir on its arrival. In a country where, through the assaults of enemies and the neglect of pastors (1), the practice of Christianity had seriously lapsed, they went from house to house, preaching and touching all hearts by their gentleness, their poverty, their angelic quality of life. Where they intended to settle, whether they would settle permanently anywhere, was not yet clear even to themselves, when an urgent message from King Childebert called them to the Austrasian court. Curiosity, superstition, the influence of a devoted mother may all have helped to prompt the invitation; it resulted in a sermon of such moving eloquence that Childebert besought his guests to make their home in his dominions and assist him by their prayers. South of the king's capital, a great waste of wooded mountains occupied the frontier district of the Vosges; the haunt of wolves and chamois, of the bear, the aurochs and the elk, these forests saw few humans save the passing huntsman or the brigand in his lair; even to-day, as the traveller passes up from Epinal into a purer climate, there is the scent of pine-woods and a carpet of wild flowers. Columban, always drawn to the hills' splendid solitude, chose this district for his home. Here, on a small mound where the valley of the Breuchin is joined by a ravine, there stood the Roman fort of

(1) Jonas I, 5.

Annegray, left now in ruins by the Huns. The walls were rebuilt to form the cashel of the new foundation, consisting of a few poor huts; and an old temple of Diana, consecrated in the name of Martin, provided a chapel for the monks. Food was desperately scarce; until some patch of land could be brought under cultivation, they had nothing but bark and herbs. One of the brethren falling sick of the fever, a three days' fast, which can have made little difference to the diet, was undertaken in aid of his recovery; at the end of which, a welcome help arrived. An unknown neighbour, whose wife lay ill at home, was moved to bring them a supply of bread, with the request that they would offer prayer for his wife's recovery; the larder was thus replenished, and Jonas adds, the sick woman soon restored to health. On another occasion, the Breton Carantoc, Abbot of Saulx, was admonished by a vision to send them a cart-load of supplies; his horses were believed to have found their way by divine guidance, and the alleged miracle added to the new monastery's fame. Even in this wilderness, Columban himself desired a greater solitude, and was accustomed to take long lonely walks for meditation, his Bible slung in a satchel on his back; sometimes wolves crossed his path, smelled him and passed on; once, he was almost captured by a band of raiders, but his courage did not flinch. A cave, lying some seven miles away, whose site, high up on the mountain-side, local tradition still points out, provided a lodging for his more prolonged retreats; a bear, gently dispossessed, had

been its former tenant, whortle-berries and a spring, cleft from the rock, supplied the saint's food and drink. Here, in a state bordering on starvation, Columban prepared his soul for the year's great festivals, while Domoal, his young attendant, bore his orders to the remaining monks.

Their number was rapidly increased by recruits from the surrounding country, and it soon became necessary to open a second house. Eight miles off, beside the Breuchin, lay the more substantial ruins of Luxeuil with its thermal springs; in a place of easier access, with good communications, both by road and water, to Plombières Northward, and to Besançon towards the South. The king, and not any of his bishops, had authorized the first foundation, and authority for the second Columban likewise sought from court. His suit, presented by a friendly courtier, Chagneric (2), was granted, and the work of construction put in hand at once. Pagan statues and buried colonnades yielded good stone in abundance; and Luxeuil, with its abbey church, dedicated to St Peter, its school, refectory and guest-house, surpassed its elder sister in importance and in size. Still fresh monks, penitents and scholars multiplied, and a third settlement was made, three miles to the North of Luxeuil, at Fontaines, where the marshes were reclaimed by patient labour,

(2) For Chagneric's assistance, which Jonas fails to mention, see Vita Faronis, M.G.H. Script. Rerum Merov. V p.185.

and good crops harvested from rich arable land. Each house had its own Prior, but Columban remained Abbot of all three. Throughout, he had treated the French bishops and their regulations with a contempt which, though deserved, was born of ignorance rather than disdain; secure in a grant of land by its proprietor, he was led by Irish practice to believe that no further blessing was required. And to the king's favour was joined that of his leading nobles; Chagneric sent his son Chagnoald for education at a monastery the grant of which he had obtained; Waldelenus, Duke of Upper Burgundy, having obtained offspring through the prayers of Columban, brought his child Donatus, later to become a bishop, and offered him to God and the Irish saint; his brother, Duke Amalgaire, provided a further testimonial by entrusting to the school of Luxeuil his son, the younger Waldelenus, who was to prove one of its abbot's closest and most constant friends. Winioc, a neighbouring priest, whose son, Bobolenus, was destined for the abbacy of Bobbio, took so personal an interest in the work of building that a wedge, flying from a half-felled tree, struck him on the forehead, and inflicted a wound from which he believed he had been recovered by Columban's prayers. Many humbler visitors flocked to the new foundations, broken men and sinners, who desired the discipline of a holy abbot to make their peace with God. The youngest of the families, that at Fontaines, now numbered sixty monks (3), and the total of the saint's

(3) Jonas I, 17.

disciples rose to two hundred and twenty (4); such was the power of attraction residing in a holy life. Opposing the violence of penance to the prevalence of vice, and teaching to all who would listen the discipline of self-denial, Columban demanded an obedience which would turn even the sick out of their beds to work, and practised a faith in the miraculous that secured instant healing for those who had the courage to obey (5); where famine threatened, his ready prayers were blessed with an unfailling answer, and his tranquil spirit, strangely controlling even the wild creatures of the forest, poured its balm upon the hearts of savage men.

Not all of his two hundred followers were professed monks; some were boys attending school, some mere casual visitors, some sick in mind or body, who sought the grace of penance or of a supernatural cure. None the less, the regular community was by now large enough to require the guidance of a written Rule, which might direct the priors in their Abbot's absence, and relieve him of detailed government from day to day. In his *Regula Monachorum*, Columban set forth the principles of the ascetic

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- (4) *Vita Valerici*, *M.G.H. Script. Rerum Merov.* IV p.162; some slight indication of the number may be derived from the fact that 17 deaths occurred in 12 years (Columban, *Epistle II* para. 6).
- (5) *Jonas I*, 12; apart from a few miscellaneous marvels, the miracles he records fall into four clear categories - (a) works of healing, (b) answers to prayer, (c) uncanny instances of "second sight" and (d) power over wild animals. Whatever explanation be sought, it is impossible to dismiss these stories out of hand, for in many cases, Jonas claims to record the evidence of eye-witnesses.

life -- love of God and neighbour expressed in an obedience to the monastic superiors even unto death; at all times, the peaceful silence of self-recollection; poor food, taken late and sparingly in a perpetual fast; an utter poverty in all external things; humility and chastity in thought no less than deed; discretion, fortified by prayer and temperance, instinctively to choose the better path; the mortification of self-will by an entire dependence on another's word; and by all these, a common growth in grace to the joint perfecting of all. To this noble ideal of high endeavour, the seventh chapter adds practical direction for worship, the monk's chief task. In addition to the private devotions, obligatory for each in proportion to his capacity and age, this chapter prescribes, during the day, three Offices with three psalms and intercessions each, at dusk twelve psalms and twelve again at midnight, and at the early vigils, a variable number of psalms, rising, on Saturdays and Sundays during winter, to seventy-five. These provisions indicate a fervour not often found in monasteries, except under the zeal of their first founder; based directly on the austerities of Irish practice, they kindled a revealing fire in France; a religious manifesto rather than a rule, Columban launched them like a broadside against the turpitude of the country where he dwelt. These were his banner and device, the mystic weapons of his consuming purpose, the guiding principles on which his disciples' life was built; the daily details of that life, with all its petty

failures, is disclosed in the *Regula Coenobialis*. This compilation, which has been enlarged by his successors, forms a sort of notebook, where the Abbot recorded from time to time the standard punishments for faults; and, in its very incoherence, it paints a vivid picture of the labour of administering a large community of far from perfect men. The obedience demanded was personal, to the superior, rather than legal, to a detailed code, and therefore this Rule characteristically begins by enjoining confession once a day. Six to twelve strokes of the lash is the punishment for offences against good behaviour -- speaking at meals, speaking in a loud voice, failing to say Amen at grace, cutting the table with a knife, claiming something as one's own, omitting the usual sign of the cross, forgetting the prayers before and after work and at meals and on entering and leaving, coughing in chapel, biting the chalice. The boys of the school have particular notice taken of their modesty and manners. Cooks who spill food must make up the loss out of their own rations, and seek pardon on bended knee in Church. Leaving tools in the field merits an imposition of twelve to thirty psalms, sleeping at prayer, six to twelve, attending Mass in a night-shirt, twelve; one day on bread and water is awarded for talking of the world, two for eating before the fixed time of meals, twenty-four psalms for spitting in the Church. Offences against peace and order are visited with particularly heavy penalties -- telling idle tales, making excuses, contradicting, with fifty strokes

or one "superposition of silence" (which seems to mean, being sent to Coventry for an entire day); detraction, vituperation and disobedience, with three such superpositions; failure to ask pardon when corrected, entering others' cells or the kitchen, or leaving the precincts without permission, with one superposition; lying, with fifty strokes, or, if persisted in, with seven days on bread and water. Not more than twenty-five strokes were to be given at one time; but the frequency of this form of punishment indicates that "the monks were accustomed to the lash, and preferred to be flogged rather than have their scanty allowance of food cut down" (6). Some of the delinquents were certainly boys; and the whole tenor of the compilation suggests the atmosphere of the strictest type of boarding-school. For graver offences, Columban wrote two Penitentials, now mingled in one, as a guide to soul-physicians in their cure. In part, they are concerned with the monastic penalties with which the *Regula Coenobialis* deals; in part, they provide for that crowd of penitents, both lay and clerical, who came to Luxeuil to confess their sins; throughout, they follow Irish models closely, and many sections are taken directly from the Penitential of Finnian. It is no easy path of repentance that is here pointed out -- homicide and sodomy require a ten years' penance, fornication, if committed by a bishop, may not be expiated under twelve;

(6) F.H.Dudden, Gregory the Great (1905) II p.88.

theft, in addition to restitution of the stolen property, is paid for by a year or more of penance, false witness by two and perjury by seven; even drawing blood in a quarrel or taking part in heathen festivals brings a sentence of up to three years; and, although all these penances may be reduced in extenuating circumstances, the mere desire to sin, without the act, must be confessed and repented for a period, varying from forty days to six months, of fasting on bread and water. The Penitential concludes with an exhortation to frequent confession, especially before Communion; it provided a discipline, at once private and accessible, that was entirely new to France; and, drawing great crowds to it with quick devotion, it formed an open and standing challenge to the regular authority of the prelates of the Church.

From the outset, the Irish communities had placed their life in the sharpest contrast to that of the French bishops, against whose laxity their rigour patently protested, and whose flocks' loyalty they appeared to be diverting in a movement of national significance. Envious complaints of disapproving prelates seem to have reached Augustine as he passed through the country on his way to England; at all events, Lawrence, one of his companions, later recalled (7) Columban as a type of uncompromising incivility. By his penitential discipline, he encroached on the powers publicly

(7) Bede, Hist. Eccl. II, 4, which quotes a letter written by Lawrence about 610; Augustine crossed France in 596.

vested in the bishops; by his unauthorized foundations, he ignored his diocesan's prerogatives; by the continual independence of his actions, he broke repeatedly enacted canons of the Church. The obvious course would have been to proceed against him under these long-standing regulations; but he enjoyed the royal favour, and no council could be convoked, or judgement promulgated, without the permission of the king. It is generally true that, the more depraved men personally are, the higher the standard they expect their clergy to maintain; the Merovingian court displayed a genuine admiration for Columban, and was probably not a little amused at the perplexity to which its obsequious bishops were reduced. One of their number, Desiderius of Vienne, was of an independent character congenial to the Irish; but he stood alone, and was soon to be exiled through the machinations of his brethren. The remainder, after some consultation, devised a subtle line of attack. The Irish, employing their antiquated calculations, frequently arrived at a date for Easter differing from that observed in France; this certainly occurred in 593, 596 and 600, and again in 603, 604, 607 and 610 (8); and, in 596, 600, 603, 607 and 610, the Irish Easter fell, according to the Victorian reckoning, on the fourteenth of the lunar month. Here was a practice that was obviously schismatical, and from which, with a little special

(8) P.G.(Grosjean), *Recherches sur les débuts de la Controverse Pascale chez les Celts*, Analecta Bollandiana lxiv (1946) p.203.

pleading, a charge of heresy could be drawn; for the "quarto-deciman" observance of Easter on the fourteenth had been condemned as a Judaizing tendency by the early Church. This matter could be brought up at a council convened for other purposes, and, with Columban convicted by a judgement of unquestionable justice, there was good hope that he might be forced to leave. Preparations were already in train for this dénouement, when Columban, in 600, took the bold course of appealing to the Pope. It was a move most discomfiting to his opponents, for the French Easter cycle was itself different from that observed at Rome; nor was Gregory likely to look with favour on a bench of bishops, whose simony he had already repeatedly condemned. There is even a story, repeated by della Torre and some of the older writers, that Columban visited Rome in person, placing Bobbio, which he was supposed to have founded on the way, under Papal protection, and receiving from the hands of Gregory one of the six miraculous water-pots of Cana; but the charter adduced in support is actually a fabrication, and Columban twice (9) remarks on his inability to visit Rome. He could however write, and he now dispatched to Gregory the letter that is counted as his first. Here, after a few generous compliments, he launched into a heated

(9) Epp. I para. 8 and III para 2; see further J. Roussel, Saint Columban et l'Épopée Colombanienne II (1942) pp. 232-5. However, Gregory had sent Columban a copy of his "Regula Pastoralis" in 594, if the Irish saint is the Columbus mentioned in Gregory's Epistle V, 17 (M.G.H. Epp. I p. 299).

defence of the Irish Easter, quoting Scripture and antiquity in its support; the work of Anatolius, on which his case chiefly rested, was, unknown to him, a recent Irish forgery, but this did not prevent him from urging the Pope to suppress the irregular French calculations -- a work, left undone by his great predecessor Leo, for which he not very tactfully suggested that a "living dog" might be better than a "dead lion". Taking breath to excuse his presumption with a more becoming modesty, he turned to an attack upon his foes, asking whether he could conscientiously communicate with simoniacal and immoral bishops; and, fearing perhaps lest the French members of his own community might waver in their allegiance to the Irish customs, he asked the Pope's opinion of monastic deserters. Finally, telling Gregory how much he had enjoyed his treatise on the Regula Pastoralis -- yet another blow at the irregular rule of the French prelates -- he requested some commentaries, together with the Pontiff's prayers; and concluded by mentioning an unsatisfactory interview with Candidus, the rector of the Papal patrimony in France. Gregory was somewhat embarrassed by this effusion. While regarding Columban's influence as wholesome for his adopted country, he could not countenance a schismatic Easter; he therefore sent no answer, but contented himself with commending Columban to the protection of Conon, Abbot of

Lérins (10).

Meanwhile, the French bishops had found a leader in Arigius, who was appointed to the see of Lyons in 603. He wrote at once to Columban, demanding his presence at a council which was to meet that year at the Burgundian capital of Chalon on the Saone (11). Columban sent Arigius a brief statement of his case -- he had already compiled three volumes for the perusal of the Pope, which have passed from Gregory's waste-paper basket into oblivion -- and addressed a public letter to the bishops, whose council, for fear of losing his temper, he refused to attend. This letter, the second in the series, is filled with reproofs directed in a tone of the highest moral fervour; after complaining of the infrequency of synods, and recalling the clergy to the example of their Master, he humbly requested permission to continue in the observance of his native customs, sounded a trumpet-blast of defiance, and reminded the assembled brethren of the unshaken unity of Mother Church. Somewhat cowed by his courageous confidence, the council postponed action, and turned to the easier task of deposing Desiderius of Vienne; but opposition continued to smoulder, and Columban was obliged to write to

(10) Gregory, Ep. XI 9 (M.G.H. Epist. II p.269) refers to "filium nostrum Columbum presbyterum," and it is very probable that Columban is designated by this name; the letter was written in Oct. 600.

(11) The date, wrongly given by Maassen as 602, is fixed by an eclipse mentioned by Fredegarius (cap. 24).

Gregory's successor in the Papal See, enclosing the previous correspondence and anew professing his deep reverence for Rome (12). Meanwhile, he continued to enjoy the favour of Theuderic, who frequently visited the saintly abbot when the chase took him in the direction of Luxeuil. Brunhilda was not averse to these encounters, and enlisted the support of Columban for the projected marriage of her grandson. He now spoke seriously to the young king about his morals, and insisted on the danger to the succession which his lack of legitimate issue must involve. Theuderic at first appeared to listen, but his distaste for Ermenberg fortified a headstrong will that was now prepared to act alone; he dismissed both his consort and the saint's advice, and returned to the embraces of his concubines. His grandmother, faced by the coalition of Neustria, Austrasia, Lombardy and Spain, saw that, to secure the stability of the family, his natural children must be designated as his heirs; the eldest, Sigebert, was now some seven years of age, and she sought means of granting him a public recognition. In this predicament the scheming bishops (13) discerned their long-awaited opportunity. It was easy to persuade Brunhilda that, in the

(12) Columban, Epistle III.

(13) Jonas (I, 18-19) says that Brunhilda herself thought of asking Columban's blessing, in order to prevent the projected marriage; in point of fact, she desired the marriage to be consummated, and the delicate approach to Columban is much more likely to have been suggested, with ulterior motives, by her clerical advisers.

state of popular feeling, nothing could be of greater assistance to young Sigebert than a blessing bestowed by the Irish saint; it was equally easy to be certain that Columban, by refusing to countenance the king's immorality, would at once and for ever forfeit the favour of the court. The apparently innocent suggestion was in fact a clever trap, by which the troublesome abbot must inevitably be caught. He was summoned to the royal villa of Brocariacum (14), where the four bastards waited to be blessed. Neither thought for his own safety, nor the gentle pleading of the Queen, could move him from his instant and resolute decision. "Never," he said, "shall these offspring of the brothel wield the sceptre of a king." And with these fateful words, accompanied by an ominous peal of thunder, he turned and strode rapidly away.

Brunhilda replied by ordering a blockade of the Irish monasteries; unwilling as yet to lose her bedesmen, she hoped that second thoughts might change. Columban followed the court to Epoisses, and, refusing to enter, waited angrily at the palace door. Theuderic, believing full men to be more placable than fasting ones, sent out a sumptuous banquet; which the saint, audacious like Andrew Melville at the court of James the Sixth, dashed in pieces with the words, "Hateful to the Almighty

(14) Bruyères-le-Châtel, according to Krusch's note on Jonas I, 19; Bourcheresse, between Chalon and Autun, according to Roussel, Saint Coloman &c. I (1941) p.146.

are the gifts of evil men." The king, now genuinely alarmed at the possibility of a popular uprising, made some vague promise of amendment; Columban retired, only to find that he was sinking still further into vice. The next move, an inescapable challenge, was a letter in which the saint threatened to excommunicate the king; he had no legal authority to do so, but while civil war was in the offing, a large part of the nation might lend him their support. In this tense situation, while the nobles joined the bishops in rallying around their lawful king, the common people, together with any who were disaffected in the country, stood ready to side with Columban. Theuderic rode out to the monastery which his father had personally founded, and demanded admission at its gates; Columban refused him entry (15), and prophesied the imminent downfall of his house. Tempers had now reached a point from which neither party could retract, but the king was still uncertain of his strength; pleasantly remarking that he had no intention of bestowing a martyr's crown on his opponent, he decreed his exile, and ordered Count Baudulf to take him to Besançon under guard. Here in the prison a number of criminals awaited death; the saint preached to them, promising liberty if they would repent; a minor revolution followed, in

(15) The Irish Law of Precincts, though later in date than this period, states what was probably ancient use: "1000 paces is the extent of the precinct of a saint or bishop or hermit or pilgrim" -- Ancient Laws of Ireland IV p.229.

which his servant Domoal struck off their fetters; and the astonished gaolers then beheld the entire party performing penitential exercises at the church. It was enough to convince the authorities that a major revolt might be occasioned by Columban's further progress through the country, and he was permitted quietly to return home.

But with the invasion of Alsace by Theudebert in 610, Burgundy rallied to its government, which lost no time in banishing a party of monks who might wish to see a new ruler on the throne. It was difficult to get soldiers to execute the commission; the first detachment, after a brief search, declared that the saint must have rendered himself invisible to human eyes. Counts Berthaire and Baudulf were now sent with a band of desperadoes, who, touched by the saint's defenceless situation, besought him not to put them to the necessity of using force. Assured that further resistance was useless, and that his captors must perform their orders on pain of death, Columban yielded; accompanied by the survivors of those who had followed him from Ireland, he took a sad farewell of the remainder, whose loyalty the government apparently did not doubt. Indeed, passages in the fourth Epistle (16) suggest that some had already wavered; but their sorrow at parting was none the less sincere. Bravely declaring that God was leading him to the foundation of fresh

(16) Columban, Epistle IV paras 2 and 9.

monasteries, Columban set out on the long road of exile.

The party travelled by way of Besançon, Autun and Avallon to Auxerre, where Columban, after curing some frenetics, confided to his captors that Clothaire would succeed to the kingdom within three years' time. Fearing a rescue if they went too close to the Neustrian border, his escort turned back Southward to Nevers and took boat on the Loire. At Orleans, none would give food to the exiles, except a poor Syrian woman, who was rewarded, according to the account of Jonas, by having her husband's sight restored (17); and the report of this miracle, together with some others, moved the callous inhabitants, still secretly for fear of the king, to afford a more generous assistance. At Tours, the boat seemed to move of its own volition towards St Martin's shrine; the Bishop, Leuparius, hospitality entertained the party to a meal, at which Columban, after some seditious talk with one of the nobles, declared that three years would see Theuderic and all his family blotted out; and a theft, which had meanwhile been perpetrated on the boat, was strangely detected by the saint. Thus, after their long journey, the party arrived at the port of Nantes, where Columban was placed in the custody of the bishop and Count Theudoald, and where, having bestowed his last crust on a beggar, he was richly feasted by a charitable lady. A short delay, while passages were sought on

(17) Jonas I, 21.

a vessel sailing to Ireland, gave the saint an opportunity to write a letter to his monks (18); in which, with many expressions of affection, he made arrangements for the government of the three monasteries, urging his followers to remain united and patiently to bear their cross. The guard was negligent, his captors appeared to have little interest in preventing his escape; whether through fear of the saint's powerful personality, or through expectation of an imminent change in the country's rulers, they merely placed him on a ship bound for Ireland, and then washed their hands of the affair. A violent storm forced the vessel back to harbour; its superstitious captain, probably himself an Irishman, gladly disembarked his unwilling passengers; and Columban, like a second Jonah, found himself at liberty upon the shore.

(18) Columban, Epistle IV.

4. Switzerland and Italy.

While waiting for the ship at Nantes, Columban had meditated a mission to the savage tribes of Germany; but the news from that quarter was not encouraging (1), and he contented himself for the moment with setting forward through Neustria, on whose border he now stood. King Clothaire gave him a welcome, which their joint opposition to Theuderic combined with Columban's sanctity to render warm; patiently submitting to some reproof and moral exhortation, he heard with interest the saint's advice that he should remain neutral in the civil strife which had already broken out; and it was probably on this occasion that the Neustrian court adopted the policy, of supporting whichever side seemed for the moment to be weaker, that was very soon to place Clothaire on the throne of the three kingdoms. In the district of La Brie, Columban was entertained at several noble houses, whose children, by the inspiration of his blessing, were later to reach great eminence in the religious life; such was Faron, a future bishop and younger brother of one of the monks of Luxeuil, whom he met with his sister Burgundofara, later to become an abbess, at Pipimisiacum their home; such also were the brothers Adon and Ouen, both destined to rule noble abbeys, who lived with their father at the villa of Vulciacum. From

(1) Columban, Epistle IV para. 5.

here, in spite of extended invitations, he set out for the court of Theudebert at Metz, where several of the leading monks of Luxeuil, expelled by the jealousy of Theuderic, were already awaiting his arrival; these included Eustasius, Chagnoald and Ursicinus, and probably Bobolenus and Attala as well. Their saintly leader received what was almost the ovation of a triumph; the Austrasian monarch offered him a settlement in any part of his dominions; and when Columban chose Bregenz on his furthest frontier, he provided a ship with oarsmen for transport up the Rhine. At Mainz, fresh provisions were hospitably sent down by the bishop; to beguile the tedium of the journey, Columban composed a Latin rowing-song, whose hexameters contain frequent reminiscences of Virgil; and thus, to the solemn music of the classics, the party arrived at Basel.

Switzerland had been penetrated by the Gospel in Roman times -- there is, for example, a secular inscription from Sitten, of the year 377, which bears on its side the "Chi-Rho" monogram flanked by the letters Alpha and Omega (2) -- and, at the period when Columban arrived, there was a bishop at Constance (3), and a few priests scattered in lonely parishes across the land (4). But many of the inhabitants were still

(2) F. Blanke, Columban und Gallus (1940) pp.13-6 where a photograph of the inscription is given.

(3) Vita Galli auctore Wettino 14 (M.G.H. Script. Rerum Merov. IV p.264).

(4) Such as Willimar at Arbon (ib. 5 p.260).

actively engaged in pagan worship, and it was a great heathen festival at Tuggen that first attracted the Irish monks, up the River Limmat, to the shores of the Lake of Zurich. Here, a huge pot of beer was being brewed for Woden; which the saint approaching appeared to shatter by his breath. Some were converted by this disaster to their beer, but when Gall (5), more impetuous than his leader, had burnt temples and thrown offerings into the water, the party was firmly asked to leave. At Arbon on the Lake of Constance, they found a priest named Willimar, who entertained them for a few days; then, passing onward, they settled at Bregenz, on the Eastern extremity of the lake. This ruined and deserted town, shaded by high mountains and surrounded by a pleasant stretch of cultivable land, provided a home for the exiles for something a little longer than a year; around a re-consecrated chapel they built their little huts, and lived on wild fowl and on what their fishing-nets brought in; Columban found a cave for his retreats; three heathen idols were destroyed; and Gall, who added to his Latin scholarship a flair for Teutonic languages (6), preached on his leader's instructions to their former worshippers. The still nights were broken by wild noises on the water and the hills, and these last orgies of a dying paganism sounded to the Irish

(5) Jonas (I, 27) mentions the destruction of the beer; further details are from the Lives of Gall.

(6) Latin scholarship, *Vita auctore Wettino* 1; fluency in German, *ib.* 6 (*M.G.H. Script. Rerum Merov.* IV pp.257 & 260).

as the voice of demons preparing to depart. News came too of the affairs of the French kingdoms; Columban dispatched Eustasius (7) to provide for his old monasteries; and, realizing that Theudebert was about to be deserted by his allies, he sent a message advising him to abdicate and seek refuge in the cloister. Heedless of advice, and with his armies already routed on the field of Toul, the Austrasian king plunged onward to his ultimate defeat at Tolbiac (8) -- the battle was revealed to Columban, as he sat reading, by something akin to second sight -- and its outcome was the conquest of Austrasia by Burgundy, placing Bregenz for the moment within Theuderic's domains. The pagan inhabitants, taking advantage of this change of ruler, complained to Duke Gunzon that the Irish monks were interfering with the chase, and it now became necessary for Columban to leave; he had already thought of preaching to the Veneti, but dissuaded by a vision (9), decided to make Lombardy his final home. Gall, worn down by fever, and hoping to continue his successful preaching to the pagans, refused to follow, and Columban left in anger, forbidding his erstwhile companion to say Mass as long as he himself should live (10). The evangelistic

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- (7) Jonas (I, 28) says that Columban went in person, but there was no time for the long journey and return; the message (which may possibly be the tract De homine misero - See Chap. III sect. 5) was most probably taken by Eustasius, who was at Bregenz (I, 27) and is next heard of as abbot of Luxeuil (I, 30).
- (8) now Zulpich.
- (9) Jonas I, 27.
- (10) Vita Galli auctore Wettino 9, auctore Walahfrido I, 9 (M.G.H. Script. Rerum Merov. IV, pp. 261 and 291).

zeal of the fluent disciple had probably caused some friction with his leader, accustomed always to command; and the quarrel, which Jonas passes by in silence, was a little discreditable to both.

The party, thus diminished, set out in the late autumn of 612, to complete on foot the perilous crossing of the Alps. They passed up the valley of the Rhine, here a swift mountain torrent overhung with pine-woods and precipitous crags; through deep ravines and ominous forests, by a passage difficult enough even for a young man and in the height of summer. At Chur, they had the choice of four routes, all used by pilgrims (11)†- to Bellinzona, either by St Bernardino or by Dissentis and Lukmanier, or else to Chiavenna, either by Splugen or by the Septimer Pass; and there was also a mule-track (12), going by the much safer but more circuitous passage of the Engadine and the Maloja. To travel by the Septimer was in distance the shortest road, but it was rendered dangerous by avalanches; and it seems probable that Columban chose the slightly lower crossing of the Lukmanier, the more so as a tradition (13) records that one of his disciples founded a hermitage at Dissentis, which

(11) L.Gougaud in Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique xxix (1933) pp.260-1.

(12) E.J.McCarthy, St Columban pp.210-11.

(13) J.Roussel, Saint Colomban et l'Epopée Colombanienne II (1942) pp.21 foll. -- whatever hermitage may have preceded it, the actual Abbey of Dissentis was probably not founded until 100 years later.

lies upon that route. Thence, passing along the fair shores of the Lago Maggiore, the Irish exiles descended on Milan.

The Lombards had occupied North Italy in 568, after the death of Justinian had removed the last barriers of Imperial power. Their monarchy, eclipsed for a time by the intrigues of a turbulent nobility, was restored in 584 under pressure from the Franks; and in 590, the widowed Queen Theudelinda, by her marriage with Duke Agilulf, conferred the crown on this strenuous and intelligent soldier. Three years later, his troops were at the gates of Rome; but he departed quickly, probably on receipt of a papal subsidy, and it thereafter became the concern of Gregory to reconcile his warlike neighbours with the Eastern Emperor, by a treaty which was secured in 598. Agilulf had himself been a member of the coalition formed against Theuderic, the enemy of Columban; and the travellers, now descending from their Alpine journey, were therefore certain of a welcome at the palace of Milan. They came into a land distracted by several of the major issues of theology -- though Theudelinda and her son were Catholics, Agilulf and the majority of his Lombard subjects had accepted the Arian perversion of the Faith; while the Catholics themselves, chiefly representing the older population, were divided into two parties by the so-called "Three Chapters" dispute. Columban, rejoicing in the opportunities afforded by fresh access to a library, and stimulated by the fervour of debate, at once launched into a vigorous literary output remarkable

in an author of his years. The learned treatise which he wrote against the Arians (14) has unfortunately not survived; but several of his extant sermons, with their emphasis on Trinitarian doctrine, were very probably delivered at this time. Fresh from his mission to the wild heathen Swiss, Columban turned with alacrity to this new work for the propagation of the faith, bending his energies especially towards the conversion of the Lombard King; but he was most severely handicapped by the dissensions of the orthodox, and Agilulf confided to him that, while he might be ready to consider becoming a Catholic, he was prevented by the schism from forming any just idea of what in particular the Catholic Faith might be. The origins of the unfortunate schism were these -- Justinian had been seriously troubled, in the Eastern parts of his Empire, by the disaffection of the Monophysites, who pushed their opposition to Nestorius so far as practically to deny the humanity of Christ; seeking to reconcile this large section of his subjects, the Emperor published in 543-4 an edict condemning certain writings, till then accepted as Catholic, to which the Monophysites took particular exception. These were the works of Theodore of Mopsuestia, a scholarly commentator with surprisingly modern ideas on the subject of Biblical Criticism, who had undoubtedly prepared the way for Nestorius by his attempt to provide, in Dorner's words,

(14) Jonas I, 30.

"for a free moral development in the Saviour's manhood"; together with some writings of his pupil Theodoret of Cyrrhus, and a letter by Ibas to the Persian heretic Maris. These writings, known as the "Three Chapters", were all declared to be heretical: but in the event, the persons of Theodoret and Ibas were saved from condemnation by various devices, and only Theodore had both his person and works condemned. The Eastern bishops endorsed the theological judgement of their Emperor, but Pope Vigilius, summoned to Constantinople in 547, was desperately unwilling to agree; he knew that the West was solidly opposed to the posthumous condemnation of authors who had died in the Church's peace, and it was only the strong pressure of the Emperor, enforced through a period of exile, that made the Pope persist in a condemnation which he twice attempted to recall. This vacillating conduct became the occasion of a widespread schism in the Western Church; its bishops refused to attend the Fifth Oecumenical Council, convened at Constantinople to endorse the Imperial Edict; and when Vigilius was forced into compliance, North Italy and Africa broke off communion with Rome. The schism thus originated was to last in some places for nearly one hundred and fifty years; yet Justinian's purpose had been primarily political, and the ensuing debate had little more than academic importance for the Church. Justinian's opponents seem to have been somewhat illogical in their conservatism, for they

accused him of accepting the two contradictory errors of Nestorius and of Eutyches (15); and the real cause of their annoyance was Imperial interference in a theological issue, which previous Church Councils had been content to leave alone. Under Vigilius' successors, the Papacy began to recover its lost ground, taking advantage of a general reluctance to probe further into the mystery whereby the divine and human natures unite in the Saviour's Person. But the Lombard Catholics remained stubbornly attached to the Three Chapters, whose insistence on Christ's real humanity provided an attractive approach towards the Arians. Constantius, the Bishop of Milan, was won over by Pope Gregory in 593, but Theudelinda and three of his suffragans refused to follow; and after Constantius' death in 600, his Catholic successor, with the flock thus divided, was faced by an Arian rival in the see. Soon after 607, the Patriarch of Aquileia became reconciled to Rome, but the Lombard bishops, forsaking their allegiance, set up their own independent patriarchate, and two rival Catholic Churches, each with a complete organization, were thus brought into being. Such was the confusion of ecclesiastical politics when Columban arrived. A

(15) See the letter of Nicetius, Bishop of Treves, in M.G.H. Epistolae III p.118; an identical accusation is made by Columban, Epistle V para. 10. There is an excellent article on the subject of the Three Chapters by E.Amann in Dict. de Théol. Cath. XV ii (1950) cols. 1868-1924.

dispute, involving personalities more than principles, had been embittered by a feeble Pontiff's conservative opponents until it was now a serious stumbling-block to urgent missionary work. Columban was disposed by character and training to a reverence for antiquity combined with a strong suspicion of doctrinal innovations; the Papacy, which had been of little support to him in his former troubles, had suffered, by its attitude to the Three Chapters, a considerable loss of prestige; Boniface IV, Pope since 608, was represented by the Lombard bishops as a tacit disciple of heretics and disrupter of the Church's peace; and to these sombre accusations Theudelinda added the entreaties of a queen. Sorely perplexed, and with his affection for the Papacy much shaken, Columban addressed a voluminous letter to the Pope.

"I write," he tells Boniface, (whom he addresses as "the most distinguished Head of all the Churches of the whole of Europe"), "I write as your friend, your disciple, your close follower." (16) "For all we Irish, inhabitants of the world's edge, are disciples of Saints Peter and Paul and of all the disciples who wrote the divine Scripture by the Holy Spirit; we receive no doctrine beyond that of the evangelists and apostles; none of us has been a heretic, a Judaizer, a schismatic; but the Catholic Faith, as it was first delivered by you, the holy apostles' successors, has been by us kept undefiled" (17). "We

(16) Columban Epistle V paras. 1 and 3.

(17) ib. para. 3.

are," he continues, "as I have said before, bound in our attachment to Saint Peter's chair; for, though Rome be great and famous, to us it is on your throne only that her greatness and her fame depend" (18). But a foul cloud of suspicion has gathered round the Papacy; Columban has been told that Boniface has favoured heresy and given rise to schism. He refuses to believe such accusations -- "I promised on your behalf, that no heretic is defended by the Roman Church in opposition to the Catholic Faith; this must be the feeling of the disciple for his master" (19). The Pope must take warning and keep better watch, for his exalted position cannot bear even the breath of ill report, and the Church is endangered by his inactivity. Hence the reason of this urgent letter -- "All wait for you, who have the power of disposing all things; of declaring war, arousing the generals, sounding the call to arms, forming the battle line, blowing the trumpets on every side, and finally of entering the conflict with your own person in the van" (20). Indeed, Columban has been sadly disappointed not to find his leader already in the field; and one thing is even dearer to him than his love for Rome -- a thing to secure which Rome itself exists -- the Church's unity. Much will be expected from those to whom much has been entrusted; the hour of Judgement is at hand. "It is a matter for

(18) ib. para. 11.

(19) ib. para. 3.

(20) ib. para. 7.

grief and weeping, if the Catholic Faith is not preserved in the Apostolic See.... I have spoken, not because I believed the accusations, but because action has become imperative" (21).

"Therefore call a Council, to clear yourself of the crimes laid to your charge.... It is your fault entirely, if you have deviated from the true confession, and made your first faith void; justly do your juniors oppose you and justly do they renounce your communion, until the memory of wicked men is destroyed and blotted out. For if these charges are true and not fictitious, at once your sons are made the head and you the tail -- even to speak of it is sorrow -- and thus they shall be your judges, who have always kept the orthodox faith, whoever they may be, and even if they seem your juniors" (22). "The freedom of my country's customs has partly driven me to this presumption. For to us, not personalities but principles have weight... So long will your power remain, as your cause continues good" (23).

"No-one is ignorant that our Saviour gave the keys of the kingdom of heaven to Saint Peter; and you perchance by this lay claim to some proud measure of pre-eminent authority and power in things divine... The unity of faith has made a unity of power and prerogative throughout the world, and liberty is granted to the truth everywhere by all... Even your juniors may provoke you for zeal of the faith, for the love of peace, for the unity of the

(21) ib. para. 9.
 (22) ib. para. 10.
 (23) ib. para. 11.

Church, our common Mother" (24). "As speedily as may be, let all be made one, let there be peace to the country and peace also to the Faith...Holy Father and brethren, pray for me, a most vile sinner, and for my fellow-pilgrims at the holy places and the ashes of the saints, and, above all, beside the graves of Peter and of Paul" (25).

It has been necessary to quote at some length from this remarkable epistle, because polemical writers have caused it to be seriously misunderstood. The sort of literal and pedantic mind, that works on isolated proof-texts, has torn it from its Italian context, and treated it as expressing the considered judgement of the Celtic Church; then, imagining that Roman doctrine was formulated as clearly in the seventh century as it is to-day, has brought it forward in evidence that the Celts were bitterly opposed to Rome. Each step in this argument is a fallacy. The letter was written in the heat of passion, with reference to a local quarrel, which appeared not to have been finally decided, and in which much could be said for either side; its language is no stronger than that which the Papacy has received from many of the saints; and even so, it abounds in sincere professions of affection and loyalty to Rome. The alleged papal heresy is nowhere accepted as a fact, but merely contemplated as a horrid possibility; and the idea that, in the last

(24) ib. para. 12.
 (25) ib. para. 17.

resort, the Papacy may be amenable to the judgement of a Council, follows inevitably from the assumption that a Pope can be a heretic. Conciliarism was in fact logically necessary to a Church which had not yet accepted the doctrine of Papal Infallibility; and Conciliarism necessitates the opinion that, in the unity of the faith, a united jurisdiction resides in the entire episcopate. Many Catholic divines of later ages shared Columban's solution of these problems, which, while granting to the Roman Pontiff a pre-eminence of honour and a supreme executive authority, none the less reserved the right of ultimate doctrinal decisions to a Council of the Church. A different solution has now been given by the authority of the Vatican Council which denies the possibility of heresy, in an official papal pronouncement, on which the rest of the argument depends; but Columban wrote nothing that a pious Catholic might not have entertained prior to 1870, and by the standards of his time, he continued a loyal subject of the Pope -- always with the large proviso that Rome in the seventh century was by no means exactly what she is to-day.

Boniface seems to have replied by demanding that he should clear himself from the suspicion of Judaizing heresy, which the Irish Easter was alleged, however wrongly, to involve. At all events, Columban's next production was a short treatise, in the form of a further letter to the Pope (26), which discusses the

(26) Columban, Epistle VI; the authenticity of this, and of the tract De Saltu Lunae, will be discussed in Chapter III sections 2 and 5.

ritual observances of the Jewish Law, and attempts to decide how far these are still binding upon Christians, and how far, being typical only, they have been superseded by the Incarnation and the Death of Christ. There is a brief reference to the diversity of Easter celebrations, but no indication of the author's preference between them; and the entire tone is far removed from disputation -- "obedience with faith is of more value than the skill of human intellect" (27). After the passionate outburst of his previous epistle, Columban had settled into a more peaceful frame of mind. His temperament was such that, while hot to enter a quarrel wherever he believed that wrong had been committed, his pent-up energies, like a peal of thunder, quickly cleared the air, and he was able at once to return to the calm humility of common sense; his quick resentment harboured no lingering fires. Moreover, his visit to Italy had taught him that, in comparison with the major doctrinal issues, the Easter controversy was of small moment, and that on this his native country differed from the Church at large. It would have been ridiculous in Milan for the small company of exiles, when engaged in promoting Christian unity, to have isolated themselves by the observance of a peculiar Easter date; they almost certainly conformed to current usage, as did Columban's French foundations within the following ten years (28), and thus ended a

(27) Epistle VI para. 8.

(28) Agrestius, who was then looking for every stick with which to beat them, makes no mention of the Easter dispute -- Jonas II, 9.

controversy, trivial in itself, which had been used by the French bishops as a cover for more sinister designs. A little research into the different astronomical systems was sufficient to convince Columban of the superiority of that of Rome; his conclusions were published in a tract, based upon that system, of which a fragment, the De Saltu Lunae, still survives. These tasks of scholarly research and scriptural exposition Columban found more congenial than the acrimony of theological debate; but a court's glitter and a city's noise made him still long for solitude. The vanity of riches became the theme of his last poem, addressed to his friend Fidolius in faultless Adonic metre, and with a feast of illustrations from the whole field of classical mythology. Such Latin poetry had not been written for five hundred years, as now poured from the playful genius of an old and weary man; it seemed almost that Horace sang again, by the lips of an Irish exile in the valley of the Po.

Southward in the Apennines, where by the waters of the Trebbia Hannibal had defeated a force of Roman troops, there lay a ruined church of St Peter at a spot, known from the stream that flows beside it, by the name of Bobbio; with a good soil and water and a plentiful supply of fish, its dense woods and rolling mountains rendered it ideal for a monk's retreat. A grant of church and land to Columban was obtained from King Agilulf on the suggestion of a Lombard called Jocundus, and here the saint

proceeded to gather his last family about him, in the course of his life's closing year. The loved loneliness brought strength back to his aged body, and he was able to help in transporting huge logs from the forest for the building of God's house; his tranquil spirit infused a joy into the valley which visitors are still said to feel; and still his rude knife and bowl are used to bless the peasants' food. Finding a solitary cave, he there gave himself again to God in prayer and fasting (29); and when Eustasius, now abbot of a Luxeuil that had revived under the protection of King Clothaire, was sent inviting his return to France, Columban refused the offer, commending his French foundations to the care of the new abbot, and transmitting to their royal benefactor an outspoken letter of advice (30). Thus, true in his solitude to the service of the King of kings, on Sunday, 23rd November, 615, Columban died. One act of reconciliation yet remained, and as he lay dying, he asked that his staff might be sent to Gall in token of forgiveness; but on that grey November Sunday, Mass was already in progress by the Lake of Constance, for Gall, warned by a vision, knew that his master was no more (31).

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- (29) Miracula S. Columbani 3 (M.G.H. Scriptores XXX ii 1934, p.999).
 (30) Jonas I, 30.
 (31) Vita S. Galli auctore Wettino 26 (M.G.H. Script. Rerum Merov. IV p.270).

5. The Legacy of Columban.

It is the unhappy destiny of saints, those most vividly real and unconventional of beings, to become stylized on their assumption of the halo; flattened to the plane surface of a window, or wrapped in the thick folds of adulation, it becomes difficult behind the panegyric to discern the man. Columban, thanks to the comparative neglect of later generations, has been left in a partial obscurity, from which it is more easy to recover his individual quality of life. An aristocratic loneliness of spirit withdrew him from the closer contacts with his fellows, and a habitual reserve, sprung from the shyness of his youth, served only to underline those occasional outbursts of passion, in which the vehemence of his righteous indignation was sometimes permitted to break loose. The real man, in all his simplicity and tenderness, was jealously shielded by an aversion to any display of sentiment; but in rare unguarded moments, he was found playing with a little girl at her father's villa, or sending to one of his monks the kiss which, in the haste of exile, he had omitted to bestow (1). Birds and beasts fearlessly followed a character of whom monarchs stood in awe, and on one remarkable occasion, he entered into the playful solemnities of a treaty, on the bounds of their respective berry-picking, with a

(1) Columban, Epistle IV para. 3.

bear (2). The poor, the sick and the unfortunate were drawn to him by his sharing in their common lot; even criminals, released from their fetters, felt impelled to kneel beside him as he prayed; and rough soldiers asked his pardon when they came to take him from Luxeuil. A gentle warmth of understanding, combined with a fervent faith, caused him to be credited with strange powers of healing, both for the body and the soul; remarkable prophecies, guided in part by the shrewdness of his political observation, clothed him with the mysterious interest of a seer. Except for the more pedantic type of punning, he was devoid of humour; yet the very tenderness of his natural melancholy rendered him attractive to all classes of society, so that noblemen entrusted him with their sons' education, and kings and courtiers were ready to welcome his reproof. At the same time, he had a capacity for arousing the most bitter hatreds. The outspoken freedom of his language, the massive independence of his mind united with a tenacity of purpose that inevitably called forth opposition, and plunged him in animated quarrels for the greater portion of his active life. His integrity was hard and cutting as a diamond. Ruthless to himself, he could be inexorable in his demands on others, with a determination that not even a mother's tears were able to soften into compromise. Disgusted with the diffidence of a temperament naturally brooding and

(2) Jonas I, 27.

affectionate, he had subjected himself to a most rigid discipline, which gave him, together with self-control, a remarkable command of men. Choosing solitude, he acquired great public influence; teaching humility, he found himself obliged to correct both Popes and kings. At home with all men, he rested nowhere; capable of all human tasks, he set his heart on none. Scholarship had failed to impress its objective balance on the poetic ardour of his nature, and solitariness led him to seek truth always on the side of the minority; but once entered on a quarrel, his courage did not flinch at odds. Great strength of body matched his strength of mind, his openness of manner did not belie the beauty of his face; but an abstract devotion to principle tended to blight his warm spirit with the chill of a precision. Lacking originality, his talents were more suited to the academic quiet of the cloister, yet sheer determination made him an outstanding leader of his age. A character so complex and so contrary -- humble and haughty, hard and tender, pedantic and impetuous by turns -- had as its guiding and unifying principle the ambition of sainthood. Content with nothing lower than perfection, following his Master with the most literal obedience, Columban bent all his endeavour to the winning of a heavenly crown. Writing, teaching, preaching, ruling were all subordinate to this one supreme activity; and though on occasions he might take time to promote the conversion of the heathen or the

heretic, it was to the monastery, or rather to the hermitage, that his desires ever turned. With the self-sacrifice that can seem so close to self-assertion, he worked out his soul's salvation by the one sure pathway that he knew; and if he preached to others, it was only to call them to the same discipline of life. He was, in fact, not a missionary, but a monk; a contemplative, too frequently driven to action by the vices of the world; a pilgrim, on the road to Paradise. This detachment was the source of his amazing influence; a welcome and respected visitor at four royal courts, the correspondent on terms almost of equality with Popes and Councils, he enjoyed a more lasting power than prince or prelate, and could make a whole kingdom tremble from his lonely cave.

The fruits of his life's work were harvested by his disciples, and brought about a reformation of the Church in France. Luxeuil and her daughters were cherished by a monarchy now peacefully established, and from their cells, for a brief period the leading school of Christendom, a new race of bishops went out to rectify the corruptions of the old. Such were Chagnoald, once the saint's personal attendant, who became Bishop of Laon about 623; Donatus, entrusted to Columban for an education which fitted him, as Bishop of Besançon, to rule the diocese in which Luxeuil lay; Ermenfried, a Burgundian courtier turned monk, who occupied the see of Verdun in the second decade of the

seventh century; Acharius of Noyon, Ragnacharius of Basel, Omer of Therouanne; and, in a later generation, Mommolinus of Noyon and Theofried of Amiens. Many others of the reformed French episcopate drew their inspiration from the Irish saint -- Ouen, blessed by him as an infant, who, after ruling Rebais as its abbot, became Bishop of Rouen in 641; Faron, the younger brother of Chagnoald, who occupied the see of Meaux; Eligius, who held the bishopric of Noyon after enjoying the position of goldsmith to King Dagobert; Arnulf of Metz, John of Constance, and a goodly number more (3). By these men, the fame of Luxeuil and its purifying discipline were spread over the face of France. "Numbers come from all quarters, fathers with their sons, eager for instruction, longing above all things to be found worthy of admission to the congregation, after a long and patient endurance of severities designed for their probation. And now what place, what city, does not rejoice in having for its ruler a bishop or abbot trained in the discipline of that holy man Columban? For it is certain that, by the virtue of his authority, almost the whole of the land of the Franks has been for the first time properly furnished with regular institutions" (4).

(3) J. Roussel, St Colomban et L'Épopée Colombanienne II pp. 183-224; E. J. McCarthy, St Columban p. 223.

(4) This description was written by Adso, about the middle of the tenth century, in his Life of Saint Bercharius, Sect. 6 (P.L. 137 col. 673 C-D).

Such was the direct outcome of his labours -- a cleansing of the church-government of France. A wider and more permanent effect on mediaeval life resulted from those peculiar Celtic institutions, which he was the means of transporting to the continent from home. Auricular confession and private penance, so characteristic of subsequent devotion, took their origin from the practice of Luxeuil, and there is scarcely one European penitential which does not show some trace of Irish influence. The exemption of monasteries from episcopal control, destined later to raise whole armies of independent monks, was practically initiated by Columban in his struggle with the French hierarchy. In 628, Honorius placed Bobbio under the sole and immediate jurisdiction of the Pope; it was the first instance of a privilege (5), by which the mediaeval Papacy was to exert its ever-growing power. While there was no Columbanic Order, the Abbot of Luxeuil enjoyed a position of honour at the head of a large and closely-linked family of religious houses, and in one instance, he was granted an actual power of visitation, by the foundation-charter (6) with which Eligius endowed the Abbey of Solignac. Columban's disciples built numerous daughter-houses across the length and breadth of the country, and his Rule speedily became so popular that it was even adopted in some

(5) P.L. 80 cols. 483-4; cf. Jonas II, 23.

(6) P.L. 87 col. 657 foll.; M.G.H. Script. Rerum Merov. IV pp. 746-8 (where its authenticity is vindicated by Krusch).

monasteries of an earlier date. During the course of the seventh century, it is possible to count no less than fifty-three abbeys, nunneries and hermitages, observing the discipline laid down by the Irish saint (7). Such enthusiasm was too quickly kindled to grow into an enduring flame, and when fervour languished, austerity was laid aside; by the turn of the century, after a period of gradual penetration, Columban's Rule had been entirely superseded by the kindlier and more practical discipline of Benedict, which enjoyed the immense advantage of a warm support from Rome. Yet for a time it seemed as though Ireland and not Italy was to provide its discipline for the great family of Western monks; and if Columban's Rule failed by its very severity to be lasting, it none the less awakened the first ardour of a widespread popular enthusiasm, of which the Benedictines came to reap the fruit. The monasteries, which Columban and his disciples founded, preserved the lingering fame of their first master, even under a change of Rule. Luxeuil itself, though destroyed by Moors and then by Norsemen, rose each time from its ashes fresh and strong (8); and Columban's memory, enshrined in the local cults of three countries (9), was never

(7) J. Roussel, St Coloman &c. II pp. 9-182, is led by his enthusiasm to catalogue a number that is improbably large; a convenient list, in which there are some omissions and some errors of date, is provided by E. J. McCarthy, Saint Columban pp. 224-5.

(8) M. Stokes, Three Months in the Forests of France (1895) pp. 55-6.

(9) For a detailed history of the cult of St Columban in Europe, see Mélanges Colombaniens (Paris 1950) pp. 259-327; the revived interest in his life and writings dates from the devoted labours of the Irish Franciscans, Fleming and his friends, in the seventeenth century.

suffered quite to die away.

He was only one, though the most notable, of a constant stream of Irish pilgrims, whose inundation was compared by St Bernard to a flood. A generation later, Fridolin was to found the monastery of Seckingen, and Fursy, settling on the Marne, wrote the first of that series of visions which reached its climax in the work of Dante; of the many others who followed the footsteps of their distinguished predecessor, the most remarkable was Virgil the Geometer (Bishop of Salzburg 767-84), whose belief in the antipodes led him into trouble with the Church. But it would be wrong to imagine that the movement had any nationalistic significance; indeed the idea of nationality was fluid and unimportant at the time, and all of Columban's immediate successors were Franks or Italians by race (10). Ireland was able, by her detachment from the struggles of the continent, to provide a cosmopolitan outlook that had scarcely been glimpsed since the fall of Rome; and it was Columban the pilgrim who made almost the first serious efforts to gather the warring states of Europe into one. He has, indeed, a stature that is international. Whether judged by religious or literary achievement, he deserves a high rank among the great. The purifying breath of youthful vigour that he brought from his homeland to a decadent world, the unflinching

(10) D.Chute in Downside Review, lxvii April 1949, pp.172 foll.

heavenward gaze on his courageous journey through a period of turmoil, the splendour of his lonely independence, have left on human history a mark imponderable but real; and though his material foundations have now crumbled, his writings are an abiding memorial to the genius of his soul.

CHAPTER THREE

Columban's Literary Works

1. Irish Latin Literature.

Exaggerated language has often been used about the part played by the Irish in the preservation of classical letters. At least as much credit is due to the Benedictines, who, taking their inspiration from the school of Cassiodorus at Vivarium, made scholarship an integral part of the monastic life. None the less, it is becoming increasingly evident that a great many classical manuscripts have been copied, at some period in their history, by Irish scribes; a fact which indicates unusual interest in a literature, which, whenever their travels gave them access to it, they took such trouble to preserve. Ireland was not prolific of original literary genius; her Latin literature is of small bulk, and in quality, apart from a few brilliant exceptions, it is extremely poor. Yet a Church which could produce Columban, Cummian and the anonymous writer who goes by the name of "Augustinus Hibernensis", must have had adequate scholarly resources, and a love of classical Latinity remarkable for the age in which they lived. It is interesting to enquire when and how this Latin scholarship was introduced to Ireland.

A ready answer is provided by the note in a twelfth century manuscript of Leyden, whose late date need not detract from the inherent probability of the statements it contains. First published by Müller (1) in 1866, it failed to attract attention, until Zimmer noticed its significance at the very end of his life. The note, entered abruptly in the middle of a glossary, is in the following terms. "Huni qui ex nephario concubitu (concubitu, Müller) progeniti sunt, scilicet demonum, postquam praeheunte cerva viam invenerunt per Meotides paludes, invaserunt Gothos, quos nimium terruerunt ex improvise mostro quod in illis erat. Et ab his depopulatio totius imperii exordium sumpsit, quae ab Unis et Guandalis, Gotis et Alanis peracta est, sub quorum vastatione omnes sapientes cismarini fugam ceperunt, et in transmarinis, videlicet in Hiberia (Hibernia, Müller) et quocumque se receperunt, maximum profectum sapientiae incolis illarum regionum adhibuerunt." This, if the reading "Hibernia" be correct, indicates a considerable migration of continental scholars, by the year 420, to Ireland and other safer spots. It explains the introduction of

(1) In Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Pädagogik, vol. 93 (1866) p.389. This, and the remaining evidence for the introduction of the classics into Ireland is fragmentary and obscure; but Columban's easy familiarity with classical authors, shown especially in his poems, indicates that a tradition of scholarship must have existed in his time, and it is difficult to see where it could have come from at a date later than the early part of the fifth century.

classical Latin -- a feat of which the unscholarly Patrick was incapable -- and explains also why secular literature, at a time when the Church looked on it with marked disfavour, came to occupy a large part in the studies of the later Irish saints. Patrick himself has a reference in his "Confession" (2) to "rhetoricians ignorant of God", which, stripped of its abusive epithet, serves to confirm the statement given in the Leyden note; but without the express testimony of the latter, we should have been driven to conjecture, however reasonably, that it was the barbarian invasions which caused the presence of these scholars in the Ireland of his time. Settling in the country, they found a ready occupation in the teaching of Latin to persons intended for the Church; their enthusiasm for the textbooks kindled a quick interest among pupils whose studies were intended primarily for other ends; and, at a period when the native Erse literature was still suspect for its paganism, classical Latin joined forces with the Gospel, and accompanied it as an educational medium across the land. "There was something in the Celtic nature which seemed to respond with peculiar energy to the stimulus of the rhetorical training" (3), and although there was as yet no occasion for much original Latin composition, the seeds of a deep affection for the classics had been sown.

(2) Tripartite Life, ed. W. Stokes II p.360.

(3) S. Dill, Roman Society in the Last Century of the Western Empire (1898) p.339.

Still more important, libraries had been imported from the continent. Apart from educational works such as the treatises of grammarians and commentators, the fugitive scholars must have introduced Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Persius, Juvenal, Sallust and a few more of the authors then most popular; and there is a fair amount of evidence that they also introduced the rudiments of Greek. Glossaries and lexicographical notes they must certainly have had; and a more comprehensive manual of Greek conversation, containing such matter as the fables of Aesop, and known to posterity as the "Hermeneumata Pseudo-Dositheana", which was used by Sedulius Scotus in the ninth century, may very reasonably be supposed to have entered the country in the luggage of a continental scholar some four hundred years before. With these materials, the Irish were able to write the Lord's Prayer in Greek, as it appears in the Schaffhausen manuscript of Adamnan's Life of St Columba, and to decorate their pages with a few letters of the Greek alphabet; still more, they could enliven their literary style (4) with a number of bizarre expressions drawn from the colloquial vocabulary of Greece. But a more literary knowledge of the language was beyond the power of anyone at that date in Western Europe to bestow. Vernacular

(4) Columban's vocabulary has been analysed from this aspect by the present writer in Bulletin du Cange XXI (1951) pp.117 foll.; this analysis includes the Monosticha, which I do not now accept as one of Columban's authentic works.

Greek continued to be spoken by some isolated communities of foreigners in France, for whom Caesarius of Arles (5) provided special Church services in their native tongue; but as early as 376 it had become difficult to find a Greek rhetor (6), and the care taken by Ausonius to explain the simplest of his Greek loan-words indicates that to scholars the language was already a closed book. When we hear that Brendan read a Greek Missal -- an achievement regarded in itself as miraculous (7) -- we need not suppose that he did more than decipher the letters of the alphabet; when Mosinu MacCumin is found learning the Paschal computations from a Greek authority (8), it is not stated that he learnt them in the language of his master; the statement that Columba studied Greek grammar (9), even if authentic, does not necessarily imply a knowledge of more than the merest elements; and the sometimes uncouth Hellenisms in the vocabulary of Columban may be derived from a source no more recondite than the glossaries. In particular, there is no evidence that any considerable body of Greek literature was taken to Ireland, either by fugitives from barbarian invasions, or at a later date. The scanty references to Greek authors, found in the writings of Columban and Cummin, may all have been taken from translations

(5) Vita S. Caesarii, P.L. 67, col. 1008.

(6) Cod Theod. xiii 3 II.

(7) Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae, ed. Plummer I p. 141.

(8) cf. Schepss, Die Ältesten Evangelienhandschriften der Würzburger Universitäts-bibliothek, p. 27.

(9) See the eulogy by Dallan, Chap. VIII (trans. T.J. Shaw, Irish Ecclesiastical Record IX, 1917, p. 128).

in the Latin tongue; and the alleged reminiscences of Greek apocryphal literature, collected by M.R. James (10) from the Lives of the Irish saints, are too vague and general to carry much conviction. Such then was the meagre equipment with which Ireland embarked upon her scholarship -- the dry bones of grammar and lexicography to provide a basis for education; small libraries of the best Latin authors to stimulate and charm; and a superficial tincture of Greek words and phrases with which to decorate the page.

Britain provided some educational influence, reflected in the vagaries of Irish spelling (11), which, along with liturgical reforms (12), introduced Ireland to the ecclesiastical literature of the West. Jerome, Augustine, Cassian, Cyprian, translations of Origen, Eusebius and Basil, the Christian poetry of Juvenius, Prudentius and Ausonius were all made available in the Irish schools. But the contacts which this avenue afforded were neither close nor frequent. Having obtained the fundamentals of sound learning, the Irish were content to remain in a conservative isolation, which preserved, not only their obsolete Easter, but also a peculiar version of the pre-Vulgate Latin Bible (13). Scriptural studies, for which Latin

(10) In Cambridge Mediaeval History III pp.504-6.

(11) J. Ryan, Irish Monasticism p.380.

(12) Haddan and Stubbs, Councils &c. II p.293: "A Davide Episcopo et Gilla et a Doco Britonibus missam acceperunt."

(13) A short collection of specimen texts is available in Haddan and Stubbs, Councils &c. I pp.170-98.

scholarship was treated only as a preparation, occupied the entire attention of the First Order of their saints; and, with the exception of Patrick's Confession and Letter to Coroticus, together with a few hymns, canons and minor fragments, this age produced no literature worthy of remark. It was not until the foundation of the great monastic schools of the sixth century, that there existed the stimulus and leisure necessary to original composition in this field. At first, writing remained strictly practical in its object, and produced nothing better than the Penitential of Finnian. The paucity of the surviving literature is not surprising, for at the same period, Britain can only show the works of Gildas, a scholar of some merit, and the incomprehensible frivolities of the Hisperica Famina. But towards the close of the century, two Irish authors of the first rank appeared; and their appearance is only explicable on the assumption of a long tradition of learning in the land. Columba, for the massive and intricate beauty of his "Altus Prosator", deserves to be reckoned as a poet of genius; Columban, with a goodly bulk of letters, sermons, rules and poems to his credit, displays a talent in several literary fields. Cummian, in the letter written to Segienus shortly after Columban's death, shows a vast sweep of erudition, but much of his material may have been collected on the journey which he made to Rome; he quotes, in addition to Cyprian, Jerome, Augustine, and Gregory the

Great, the decisions of both Western and Eastern synods, and the paschal cycles of numerous fathers of the Church. Towards the middle of the seventh century, Aileran the Wise compiled a treatise on the names of Christ's progenitors, with their Hebrew, Greek and Latin meanings; it draws on Origen and Philo, as well as the more popular patristic writers, but its philology bears little relationship to fact. A little later, the Irish Augustine wrote on the miracles of Scripture, explained as the workings of Providence in harmony with natural law; his Latinity is good, though characterized by some specimens of insular vocabulary such as "malina" and "ledo", his reading appears to have been wide enough to include Eusebius, Josephus, and some works on natural history and medicine. Near the end of the century, Cellanus was able, like Columban, to put a knowledge of classical poetry to use and Adamnan, in his life of Columba and his account of Arculf's pilgrimage to Palestine, recorded his wide intellectual interests in a charming style. The eighth century saw a number of technical treatises on grammar, including notes on Virgil's Eclogues and Georgics which may be by Adamnan; but by this time, the efforts of Theodore and Hadrian had absorbed the distinctive Irish contribution into the general stream of European culture.

The sixth century, which witnessed the full establishment of Irish Latin literature and scholarship, also produced a

distressing number of literary forgeries. These were primarily concerned to validate the Irish Easter, and display the perversion of a certain capacity for style; they comprise the Acts of the Council of Caesarea, forged in 508, the Pseudo-Athanasian Tractate on the Paschal System, fabricated in 546, the Pseudo-Anatolian Paschal Forgery of ten years later, and, dating from 606, the spurious Epistle of St Cyril on the Paschal Question (14). The "Epistula Moriani Episcopi Alexandrini de Ortu Paschali" (15), of uncertain date, is probably an Irish fabrication, as is the treatise "De tribus Habitaculis" once attributed to Augustine. Somewhere in the seventh century, and again in Ireland, the "De XII Abusivis Saeculi" (16) was published as a genuine patristic work.

There are also a few commentaries, on Job and on the Psalter, which were probably composed in Ireland, but whose date and precise origin remain obscure. It is indeed surprising, particularly in view of the high reputation enjoyed by the Irish schools over a considerable period, that the surviving monuments of Irish Latin literature are so few; surprising also that Columban, whose main efforts were directed to teaching, "not grammar, but discipline" (17), should be the earliest Irish

(14) Krusch, Der 84-Jährige Oestercyclus (1880) pp.303-49.

(15) Muratori, Anecdota Ambrosiana (1713) III pp.195-6.

(16) Hellmann, Texte und Untersuchungen Bd. 34 Heft I (1909) pp.1-62.

(17) M.Roger, L'Enseignement des Lettres Classiques d'Ausone à Alcuin (1905) p.415.

author to quote the pagan classics. In his own case, it is possible to compute that something like a quarter of his writings have been lost (18), and they enjoyed good facilities for preservation; it therefore seems highly probable that at least the same proportion of the works of his fellow-countrymen have perished. In what survives of their productions, he occupies for practical purposes the first place, both in point of time and genius. His style is not free of the barbarisms peculiar to his country -- the uncouth vocabulary, the abuse of abstract terms, the colloquial employment of diminutives, the forced rhetoric -- and it is the product of book-learning rather than original thought, for like all his contemporaries, his talent was for transmission, not creation; none the less, he had succeeded to a remarkable extent, in assimilating the heritage of ancient Rome.

(18) See section 7 below.

2. Columban's Epistles.

Of the seven prose epistles ascribed to Columban, the authenticity of the sixth alone is in any doubt. The remainder are known to us from the seventeenth-century transcripts of Fleming and Metzler, made from a couple of related Bobbio manuscripts, which were apparently corrupt in places, and are now lost. The seventh is preserved also in two manuscripts still surviving at Turin.

The first epistle is addressed to Pope Gregory the Great. It mentions Candidus, appointed Rector of the Papal Patrimony in 595, and requests a copy of Gregory's lectures on Ezekiel, which, though delivered in 593, were not published until 601 (1). It was written after the French bishops' opposition to the Irish Easter had gathered some momentum, and possibly in a year when according to the Victorian cycle, it fell on the fourteenth of the lunar month. Subsequent to the date of Candidus' appointment, this occurred both in 596 and in 600; but the reference in Epistle II (2) to a communication "ante triennium scriptum" suggests that 600 was the date when Columban wrote to Gregory. Later in Epistle III (3), he complains that his appeal failed to secure a hearing, for he had received no answer; and when the Life of Salaberga (4) declares that Gregory "melliflua remisit

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- (1) see Analecta Bollandiana lxiv (1946) p.212.
 - (2) para. 5.
 - (3) para. 2.
 - (4) Acta Sanctorum Sept. VI p.521.

scripta", it probably means only that the Pope dispatched those of his own writings which Columban had requested him to send. As already mentioned, the letter refers, obviously in good faith, to one of the sixth-century Irish paschal forgeries; in addition, it makes use of Jerome, Eusebius, Gennadius and Gildas, and displays some knowledge both of contemporary continental writings, and of the various stages in the paschal dispute. The tone is firm, but respectful, and the appeal, though recognizing Rome's authority, indicates no tendency to compromise. From the beginning, the letter employs that interlaced word-order which is characteristic of Columban's epistolary style. There is a frequent and sometimes affected use of alliteration, and a number of remarkable words derived from Greek -- "castalitas", "chalcenterus", "schynthinus", "bubum", and "chilosus". The principle, later known by the name of "Sola Scriptura", is enunciated in paragraph four -- "Quod si licet hominibus augere per se aliquid divinae censurae, interrogo, ne forte videatur contrarium esse illi Deuteronomii sententiae..." (Deut. 4, 2). Some rather pedantic punning, and the use of half-proverbial expressions, give a ponderous quality to the whole.

Epistle II was directed to a French synod, generally agreed (5) to have been that which met at Chalon in 603; Maassen

(5) cf. Hertel in Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte III pp.145 foll.; Gundlach in Neues Archiv XV p.510; Krusch, Jonas, Intro. p.7. The alternative suggestion, that the synod was that which met at Macon in 585, is impossible to reconcile with the evidence; see Chapter II section I above.

wrongly dated it to 602, but the correct year is given by Fredegarius (6), and by Columban's mention of Arigius (7), who did not become metropolitan of Lyons until just before. This was twelve years after the writer's arrival in the Vosges (8), and at a time when the mounting jealousy of the French episcopate had determined to expel him by united action. It is perhaps worth mentioning that in 603, the Irish celebrated Easter on 31st March, the Franks on 7th April; the former date, the eighteenth day of the lunar month according to the old eighty-four year paschal cycle, was actually the fourteenth according to the Victorian; and hence this was a year in which the charge of quartodeciman heresy could with some reason be alleged. Columban had been summoned to attend the synod, and his enemies no doubt hoped that he would incriminate himself still further by the freedom of his language; but in fear of this very result of his attendance (9), he chose rather to express himself through the more temperate medium of a letter. Realizing that the Easter controversy was a mere pretext for an attack on his whole way of life, he relegated it to a minor position in his letter, with the reasonable request that he might be permitted in his solitude to observe his country's customs; the main

(6) Fredegarius cap. 24.

(7) Epistle II para. 5; the supporters of the Macon theory suggest that this was Arigius of Vap.

(8) Epistle II para. 6.

(9) ib. para. 7.

burden, in a style simple, forceful and direct, is a criticism of the moral laxity of France. The vocabulary is plain, without straining after literary effect, and suitable to the sober contents of the message; very different from the conscious artifices of the first epistle, it shows that Columban well knew the desirability of varying his tone according to the occasion of his writing. There are a great many quotations from the Bible, a few references to Jerome, Basil and Gregory the Great. The conclusion, with its admission that monks and secular clergy have very different vocations, and with its strong yet humble appeal for the peace and concord of both, makes an effort to calm the indignation which the reproofs of the opening must have caused. Mention is made (10) of a reply to accusations written three years before, which is probably Epistle I; also of three volumes compiled for the enlightenment of the Pope, and of a statement sent privately to Arigius, all of which are now lost.

Epistle III, renewing the writer's appeal to Rome, is superscribed to Pope "N". It was presumably written during a vacancy, after the death of one Pontiff, and before the name of his successor had been published; hence a blank had to be left in the address of the original. This disposes of the older theory, maintained by Fleming and Hauck (11), that the letter was written in 609-10, and addressed to Boniface IV. Krusch and

(10) para. 5.

(11) Hauck, Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands I p.601.

Gundlach (12) assigned it to the year 604, and to the interval of about five months between the death of Gregory and the election of Sabinian; more recently, Grosjean (13) has argued for 607, and for the long vacancy -- almost of twelve months -- between Sabinian and Boniface III. It is true that the latter was the first year after 603, in which the Irish Easter fell on the fourteenth by the Victorian reckoning. But at that time, Columban was enjoying the close friendship of King Theuderic, and had no reason to fear the bishops; a discrepancy, though not so serious as in 607, between the Irish and French calendars, occurred also in 604; and it was then, immediately after the meeting of the synod of Chalon, that there was the most reasonable occasion for renewing the appeal to Rome. Communications had been disrupted for most of the year 603 by the attacks of Slavs and Lombards (14), and by the time that Columban had the opportunity of writing, he did not know the name of the reigning Pope. He transmits copies of his previous correspondence, blaming the Arian Lombards for its failure to reach its destination, and very respectfully asks, "si non contra fidem est" (15), that for the duration of his pilgrimage he should be permitted to maintain his country's customs. By way of authority, he

(12) Krusch, Jonas, Introduction p.8; Gundlach, in Neues Archiv XV p.511.

(13) In Analecta Bollandiana lxiv (1946) p.209.

(14) Paulus, Historia Langobardorum IV 29 (P.L. 95, 563).

(15) Epistle III para. 2.

quotes a canon of the Council of Constantinople, which allowed Churches established in barbarian lands -- Ireland, outside the bounds of the old Empire, could be so described -- to preserve their native institutions; and a very short study of the evidence would disclose that the French accusations of heresy were groundless, and therefore that no question of the Faith was involved. Not knowing the character of his correspondent, Columban refrains from the liberties which he had taken when writing to Pope Gregory, and is careful to profess his affection for the Papacy and the purity of his own faith. The letter is short and business-like, but the involved word-order shows a certain striving after style.

Epistle IV closes the series which illustrates the quarrels of Columban's stay in France. It was written to his disciples remaining at Luxeuil after his exile, in the year 610, while waiting at Nantes for the ship to transport him back to Ireland. The "frugal brethren" detailed in the superscription include both the writer's "sons", the professed monks, and his "dear pupils", the boys studying in the monastic school. The anxious appeals for peace and unity, with which the letter opens, and the statement (16) "plus enim nobis nocuerunt, qui apud nos unanimes non fuerunt", indicate that some of the French monks had been disposed to side with their abbot's enemies in the

(16) Epistle IV para. 2.

course of the Easter controversy. In order to provide for the government of Luxeuil in his absence, Columban enjoins that the Burgundian Attala, or, if he prefers to follow his master, Waldelenus, shall occupy the position of "praepositus" or prior. To Waldelenus, he sends the kiss of farewell, which had been omitted in the haste of parting, and to Attala, to whom the greater part of the letter is personally addressed, a long catalogue of advice. The language is simple and affecting, but even in the depths of disappointment, Columban preserves his love for alliterative effect. There is one quotation from Gregory the Great, and three possible reminiscences of Horace and of Sallust. External conflicts provide the occasion for a dignified exhortation to the conquest of the inner man; and, at the conclusion, the prospect of shipwreck enables the writer to compare his fate to that of Jonah, whose name is the Hebrew version of his own.

The fifth epistle breaks new ground, with its elaborate discussion of the "Three Chapters" schism. Written from Milan in 613, at the request of Queen Theudelinda and King Agilulf, it is addressed to Pope Boniface IV. Coupled with Church dissensions, the warfare of preceding years has led the writer to believe that he stands at a moment of universal crisis -- "*Ecce conturbantur gentes, inclinantur regna; ideo cito dabit vocem suam Altissimus, et movebitur terra*" (17). Subordinate

(17) Epistle V, para. 7.

questions, like the Easter controversy, are laid aside, and in a mood of deep seriousness, Columban takes it upon himself, with some diffidence, to instruct the Pontiff in the duties of his exalted place. It will not be necessary to repeat the detailed account, which has been given earlier (18), of the contents of this letter; it is sufficient to remark that, while ascribing all honour and full executive authority to the Roman Pontiff, Columban declares that, for a solution of the ultimate doctrinal questions, the only satisfactory course will be the calling of a general Council, to whose decisions Boniface must submit. These ideas are expressed in such a rapid flow of nervous rhetoric, that their full logical implications have not been worked out. It is possible to quote seemingly discrepant pronouncements from different portions of the same epistle, particularly if the critic reads back into Columban's situation the more precise dogmatic formulations of a later age. Dom Laporte has recently attempted (19) to solve the difficulties by an ingenious theory, to the effect that two separate epistles, both by Columban, have here been conflated into one; he notices that some passages are addressed in the plural number, some in the singular; and he assumes that the former make up a letter of reproof directed to the lower orders of the Roman clergy, while the latter represent a mild and submissive epistle to the Pope.

(18) Chapter II, section 4.

(19) In Melanges Colombaniens (1950) p.78.

But this theory, however attractive on the surface, breaks down under examination. Apart from the inherent improbability of any correspondent addressing himself to the Roman clerics in distinction from their head, the two types of passage are too closely linked for separation; at one point (20), the singular and plural numbers are used in the same sentence; plenty of reproof is directed in the singular, while sometimes (21) the plural can refer only to the Pope; finally, the appeals for concord, which form the climax of the letter, would imply, on Laporte's theory, a schism among the Roman clergy, of which we have no other knowledge. It is, indeed, a cardinal error to separate the passages of warm affection from those of violent abuse; the former comprise the reason for the latter, for it is Columban's love for the institution of the Papacy that causes his anger at the weak conduct of the reigning Pope. The letter is a unity, addressed entirely to the Roman Pontiff, who is sometimes dignified by the plural of magnificence; through him, as the Church's head, an appeal for concord is directed to the Church at large, and at times the writer, forgetful of his immediate audience, speaks directly to the two contending parties (22) in the schism. It is a long and wordy epistle, making use of all the tricks of assonance and alliteration, and

(20) para. 10 -- "Inde conventum coge, ut ea, quae vobis obiciuntur, purgetis."

(21) para. 11 -- "magnus honor vester est pro dignitate cathedrae."

(22) para. 2 -- "vos contententes utrimque"; para. 11 -- "ut vobis sit stupor ambobus".

employing a style which, while attempting to be elevated, is sometimes obscure in the extreme. Naval metaphors predominate, introduced by the picture of the Church as a sinking ship; other parts are coloured by images drawn from the field of battle, or enlivened with the language of domestic occupations. The name of Pope Vigilius is subjected to repeated punning. The vocabulary, rich and varied, includes such rarities as "consiliolum", "convertibulum", "dodrans" (in the sense of "flood"), "transmundialis" and "triundalis". And the learned author finds opportunity both to explain the literal meaning of "orthodoxus" -- "qui recte Dominum glorificat" (23) -- and to provide the Hebrew and Greek equivalents of his Latin name (24).

The sixth epistle, contained in a variety of manuscripts ranging in date from the eighth to the thirteenth centuries, consists of a short treatise on the Jewish legal observances, in the form of a letter to a certain "venerabilis papa" (25). The superscription has been lost, and with it the names of both author and recipient; but the Cologne and Vatican manuscripts have the title, "Incipit Disputatio Sancti Ieronimi de Sollempnitatibus Paschae." It was published among Jerome's

(23) Epistle V para. 13.

(24) *ib.* para. 16.

(25) Epistle VI para. 8. Fleming (Collectanea Sacra p.109) notes the existence of letters by Columban to Pope Boniface, which he was not able to transcribe; this sixth Epistle may very possibly be one of these.

works by Vallarsi, Migne and the editors of the Vienna Corpus, and as part of the Paschal controversy under Victor I by J.B.Pitra (26). In 1884, Krusch (27) edited the letter as a new discovery, and claimed it as Columban's on grounds of style. Gundlach (28) added a few arguments of the same nature, and in 1892 included the work in his edition of Columban's letters for the Monumenta Germaniae Historica. But Seebass published three articles (29), denying the stylistic parallels alleged between this and the genuine writings of Columban, and claiming that the letter was written by a supporter of the Easter cycle which Columban had consistently opposed. Krusch (30) thereupon withdrew his previous ascription; and later critics (31) have generally regarded the letter as a work of the fifth century or earlier. There are, unfortunately, no obvious indications of date; all the references are scriptural, and although there are three passages (32) which may have a faint echo of Victorius and Isidore, these are too vague to carry any sure conclusion.

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- (26) Spicilegium Solesmense (1852) I pp.9 foll.
 (27) Neues Archiv X pp.84 foll.
 (28) In Neues Archiv XV (1890) p.500 note 1; ib. XVII (1892) p.425-9.
 (29) Neues Archiv XVII (1892) pp.257 foll.; Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte XIV (1894) pp.93-7; Hauck's Realencyclopädie IV (1898) p.246.
 (30) Jonas, Introduction p.20 note 1.
 (31) H.Leclercq, Reliquiae liturgicae vetustissimae (1913) II pp.71 foll.; G. de Plinval, Revue de philologie LX (1934) p.40 note 4; C.Jones, Bedae Opera de Temporibus (1943) p.108 foll.; B.Blumenkranz, Die Judenpredigt Augustins (1946) pp.47-9. See also P.Grosjean in Analecta Bollandiana lxiv (1946) p.240 note 3 and the excellent bibliography in Dekkers & Gaar, Clavis Patrum Latinorum (1951) pp.390-1.
 (32) Ep. VI paras. 2-4.

Nor is it at all certain that the writer supported the Victorian Easter-cycle. He merely remarks (33) that there is a diversity of opinion in the Church, one party doing no more than avoid the rigid Judaizing observance of the fourteenth -- this would cover in reality all but the Quartodecimans -- the other and larger party, in obedience to the authority of Rome (34), being careful always to observe Easter on a later date. As to his own preference, he makes no precise statement, except that he appears to accept the fifteenth as a possible date, which implies support for the Dionysian, and not the Victorian, cycle. Moreover, there is no evidence whatever that Columban, after his arrival in Italy, did not finally discard the out-moded Irish system, which, in previous letters, he had been urging with decreasing force; the tract De Saltu Lunae, if authentic, proves that in fact he did. And even if he had not come to a definite conclusion at the time of writing, he could still have composed the sixth epistle in the terms which it employs. A more telling objection to his authorship might be drawn from the statement (35) that Christ instituted the Eucharist, while His own Body was distinct from the elements, being still personally present to

(33) ib. para. 2.

(34) Actually, the Dionysian system, used at Rome, allowed Easter to fall on the fifteenth of the lunar month, while the Victorian, current in France, forbade its celebration prior to the sixteenth.

(35) Epistle VI para. 2.

His disciples, "ut....hoc corpore se refici spiritualiter crederent, et sic etiam nunc a nobis credi debeat." This, if the emphasis be placed on "spiritualiter", would be difficult to reconcile with the belief in the Real Presence, implied by the provisions for reservation in the Regula Coenobialis, and clearly stated in the following passage from the Penitential(36)-- "Tribunal enim Christi altare, et corpus suum inibi cum sanguine iudicat indignos accedentes." But the context of the passage from the sixth epistle makes it clear that the emphasis should be placed, not on "spiritualiter", but on "hoc corpore" -- "it is in Christ's Body that we must believe that our spiritual food resides" -- and no objection to Columban's authorship need therefore be urged upon this score. In point of fact, no conclusive objection has as yet been offered; a plausible occasion for the writing of this letter could have been furnished by a reply of Pope Boniface to the fifth epistle, in which the Pope would naturally have asked for some explanation of the accusations of Judaizing heresy, levelled by their opponents at the Irish; and the stylistic arguments, adduced by Krusch and Gundlach, seem still to provide sufficient evidence that this letter is a genuine work of Columban's. Near the beginning is his usual protestation of humility -- "imbecillitas nostra" -- and at the conclusion, his customary request for his

(36) Penitential B 30; reservation is only mentioned in the later additions to the Regula Coenobialis.

correspondent's prayers -- "ora pro me." The reference (37) to the perfection of the eighth beatitude recalls a similar passage in Epistle II (38). And the final paragraph is so close in its language to the opening of the fifth epistle -- both, it would appear, addressed to the same person -- that they must be quoted side by side. The sixth epistle concludes: "Haec pauca in bysso multa disserens, hanc scribiciunculam diviti pauper, peregrinus tibi praebere non timui..." The opening of the fifth epistle contains these words: "...humillimus celsissimo, minimus maximo, agrestis urbano, micrologus eloquentissimo, extremus primo, peregrinus indigenae, pauperculus praepotenti -- mirum dictu, nova res, rara avis -- scribere audet Bonifatio Patri Palumbus." It is indeed true, as Seebass pointed out, that some of the parallels alleged are not exact. The antithesis of "veritas" is "figura" in the sixth epistle -- "non ut veritas figuram, sed figura veritatem praecedat" (39) -- whereas in the first, it is "error" -- "manifeste antiquus error est; sed semper antiquior est veritas, quae illum reprehendit" (40). The sixth epistle calls the Judaizing observance "umbralis" (41) because it foreshadows the reality of Christ;

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- (37) Epistle VI para. 5.
 - (38) Epistle II para. 3.
 - (39) Epistle VI para. 2.
 - (40) Epistle I para. 12.
 - (41) Epistle VI para. 2.

the first calls the French Easter "tenebrosum" (42) because it can be celebrated in the comparatively dark nights near the end of the lunar month. But there is still one passage, not previously noticed, which may provide a definite clue to the author's name. The sixth epistle includes a list of the Jewish sacrificial animals, with a fanciful exegesis of their mystical significance -- a study for which, by his scriptural training, Columban was well qualified. In the course of this, the dove is mentioned (43), and its meaning given thus: "per columbam perspicacior intuitus sacramentorum." The dove is, of course, a familiar symbol of the Holy Spirit, to Whose agency the grace of the sacraments is particularly due. But there is no conceivable connection between the dove and the understanding of the sacraments, unless we here have one of those plays on the meaning of his own name, which Columban delighted to employ. He is actually, in the course of his letter, labouring to make the sacraments more clearly understood; and it is from these labours that he has perhaps drawn his interpretation of the dove. By means of a pun, he may thus have left his signature; and if so, the sixth epistle may confidently be included in his works.

The seventh epistle is addressed to a young disciple, described (44) as "puer amande ministerque dulcis." The position

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- (42) Epistle I para. 3.
 - (43) Epistle VI para. 7.
 - (44) Epistle VII para. 3.

of Columban's "minister" was filled successively by Domoal and Chagnoald; the letter may have been written to either, and there is no clear indication of its date. But the frequent mention of tribulations, discords and contentions recalls the fourth epistle (45), and suggests that the present letter may have been composed about the same time. It opens with a proverbial expression -- "cui pauca non sufficiunt, plura non proderunt" -- which is again quoted by Columban, twice in the Sermons, and once in a modified form in the Regula Monachorum(46), but whose source cannot now be traced. There is a brief quotation (47) from Virgil, and an interesting remark on the moral use of literary studies -- "ut per quasdam delectationes litterarum suas vincere possint de intestino amaritudines bello"(48). Again there is the interlaced word-order characteristic of Columban's epistolary style, and more than once, the meanings of words are strained, to secure a parallelism between the clauses. The language of the letter is rhetorical, and both Fleming and one of the Turin manuscripts entitle it an "Exhortation". This manuscript -- Turin G vii 16 -- places the letter after the tract De octo Vitiis; the other Turin manuscript -- G v 38 -- in view of the training in character with which it is concerned, introduces it between the two parts of the Penitential.

(45) especially para. 7.

(46) Sermons I and III; Regula Monachorum VIII.

(47) Epistle VII para. I.

(48) ib.

3. The Sermons.

The seventeen sermons, collected by Metzler and Fleming, and printed by Migne, include, as number XIV, the seventh epistle, which, when classed as an "Exhortation", passed readily into this category. The remainder, with the exception of number XV, are also attributed to Columban by a good and copious tradition of surviving manuscripts. Earlier writers (1) noted that the whole series form a system of doctrine, a compact and closely-knit corpus of moral exhortation; and they had no difficulty in identifying, behind the thoughts and language, the mind of Columban. But in 1885, his authorship was flatly denied by Hauck (2). Jonas, as this scholar pointed out, mentions no extant sermons of his hero, and the manuscripts make frequent errors in their authors' names; the opening of the fifth sermon is actually very similar to that of the Augustinian "Sermo 49 ad fratres in eremo"; there are possible reminiscences of Faustus of Riez, who seems to be explicitly quoted as the author's teacher in the second sermon; the style of the sermons is clear and even, without Columban's speed and passion, and without his interlaced word-order; unlike his other writings, they make considerable use of rhyme; their vocabulary includes few Greek or abstract terms, and there is alleged to be a different shade

(1) See Histoire Littéraire de la France III (1735) p.513.

(2) In Zeitschrift für kirchliche Wissenschaft und kirchliches Leben VI pp.357 foll.

of meaning in the use of the words, "toti", "acsi", "tamquam", "quia", "vel" and "vanitas". In consequence of these, and a few less cogent arguments, Hauck ascribed the entire series of sermons to an unknown pupil of Faustus of Riez. But the majority of Hauck's objections were answered by Seebass in 1892 (3), who, after a detailed analysis of the manuscript evidence, came to the conclusion that four of the sermons, preserved separately from the others in two manuscripts, are the genuine work of Columban; the sermons in question are Migne's third, eleventh, sixteenth and seventeenth, and the manuscripts which preserve them are the Vatican cod. Reg. 140, of the ninth or tenth century, and the Latin MS. 17,188 of the Bibliothèque Nationale, copied in the seventeenth century "ex antiquo ms. Floriacensi, ab annis circiter 700 exarato." These four genuine sermons, Seebass supposed, had later been joined to the works of some pupil of Faustus, owing to the similarity of the ideas which they contain, and the present collection had resulted from this confusion. Malnory (4) protested that the entire series must be treated as a unity; but Hauck (5) came to agree with the conclusions of Seebass, which have held the field until, in

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- (3) In Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte XIII pp.513 foll.; Seebass edited the four sermons which he accepted in the following number of the same periodical (pp.76 foll.).
 (4) A. Malnory, Quid Luxovienses monachi &c. (1894) p.85.
 (5) Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands I p.261, note 2.

1950, they were challenged by Laporte (6). All of the sermons, with the probable exception of Migne's number XV, are accepted as authentic by this latest critic, whose forthcoming monograph will provide his views with detailed proof. He claims also to have found, in a ninth century manuscript of Einsiedeln (Stiftsbibliothek no. 27), three fragments of sermons, which have connections of style and content with Columban's, and, though less carefully written, read like a first draft; of these, the present writer has only been able to trace (on fol. 119 verso to 121 recto) yet another version of the Augustinian "Sermo 49", to the title of which a later hand has added the words "S. Columbani".

It will be convenient for the moment to leave aside the first thirteen sermons of the collection, and to consider the remainder by themselves. Number XIV is, as already noted, the seventh epistle. Number XV has no earlier manuscript authority than that of Metzler, who entitles it "Exhortatoria S. Columbani in conventu ad Fratres". It is an exhortation to obey the "regulas obsequii divini quas ab antiquis patribus didicimus", and contains a remarkably original exegesis of Cantic I, verse 3. But it begins with the words, "In ecclesia Dei, fratres mei, summum locum per Dei misericordiam obtinentes..." (7)

(6) In Mélanges Colombaniens p.75.

(7) "sumus obtinentes" in Migne's text is an error.

Now it is true that the Irish gave singular honour to the monk and the pilgrim -- the Ancient Laws (8) go so far as to state, "There are seven grades of the church... A bishop... an equal honour-price is...cut out for him and for the abbot... The bishop and the pilgrim of God have the same 'dire-fine' (honour-price); for it is a change of degree for the bishop to go on pilgrimage of God". But even so, no one but a bishop could describe himself as holding "the chief place in the Church"; such language would have been impossible for the modest Columban, and the sermon is certainly not his. Whence Metzler derived it can only be a matter of conjecture; but he has managed to introduce it at a place where, with its insistence that the preacher is addressing himself no less than his congregation, it fits on a superficial view with its surroundings. It was probably composed by some imitator, for whom Columban, already a saint, naturally occupied an exalted position in the Church. The sixteenth sermon is contained only in the two manuscripts of Seebass; the seventeenth is preserved also by Metzler and by two Turin manuscripts (G v 38 and G vii 16) of the tenth and eleventh centuries, which came originally from Bobbio. The two writings are closely linked together -- the second is a brief commentary on the principal vices listed at the conclusion of the first -- and are not properly sermons, but edifying tracts,

(8) V p.23.

addressed to some disciple -- "Expergiscere ergo, O fili, de nocte..." -- who has apparently been in danger of losing heaven, and who is here urged to undertake the rigours of the religious life. In view of the manuscript evidence, they are undoubtedly Columban's, and will be discussed in a later section, together with his minor prose works; they can be conveniently designated by the titles, De homine misero, and De octo vitiis principalibus.

There remain the first thirteen sermons, which are all preserved, as authentic writings of Columban, by Metzler and by the two Bobbio manuscripts already mentioned, at Turin; numbers III and XI are also contained in the two manuscripts used by Seebass; and number V in four further manuscripts, (in addition to the first three) -- the eighth century cod. Parisinus 13440, which gives the author's name, partly illegible, as "Sancti... bani Abbatis", the ninth century cod. Rh. hist. 28 of the Zurich Kantonsbibliothek, which calls the work an "Epistola Sancti Columbani Abbatis", the tenth century cod. 915 of Saint Gall, with the same title, and the fifteenth century cod. lat. 14949 (Em. w. 6) of the Munich Staatsbibliothek, which employs the same title as the previous two, and which, like the Saint Gall manuscript, places this sermon in close proximity to the Regula Monachorum and the Regula Coenobialis. In addition, it is to be noted that the ninth century catalogue of the Library of St Gall

appears to assign the entire collection to Columban (9). The manuscript evidence is undoubtedly in favour of treating the whole series as a unity, from which certain favourite items have occasionally been excerpted. Sermon V has been a special favourite, and the page where it occurs in the Turin manuscript, G v 38, is particularly worn by constant use. Seebass' two manuscripts represent another selection, made for liturgical use on Columban's festival; his Vatican manuscript calls it "ordo lectionum officii Sancti Columbani abbatis", that of the Bibliothèque Nationale, "ordo Sancti Columbani de vita et actibus monachorum". This conclusion, that the whole series, whoever its author may be, forms a unity, is fortified by a study of its contents. The opening sentence of II summarizes the contents of I, to which it forms a continuation. III, with its words "Studendum est ergo...", picks up the conclusion of II ("in bello studendum est" etc.), and in its second paragraph, it employs the language of I to describe the Divine Nature. IV continues to treat of discipline, and with its reference to "fragilitas nostra" echoes the sentiments of III on the brevity and deceitfulness of life. To this V supplies the background, with its rhetorical denunciation of carnal life as a mere shadow, and VI continues V ("de humana vita diximus"). VII turns its

(9) Becker, Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui p.48. The tenth century Catalogue of Bobbio lists "Eiusdem epistole sive exortationes numero XIII" (M.Manitius, Lat. Lit. I p.183).

denunciation to the whole condition of bodily existence.

VIII sums up the teaching of the previous sermons on human life, and opens up the new topic of the Last Things, which is continued by IX and X. This in turn leads back, at the conclusion of X, to the subject of moral discipline; and XI, after another echo of the language of I, concerns itself with this. XII completes the exhortations of the preceding sermon, and turns to the language of prayer, with which XIII, after summing up the series, concludes. A closer reading of these sermons will reveal further connections, a whole field of ideas, repeated from one to another, and linking them all in one. They were, in fact, preached upon successive days, for X speaks, in its second paragraph, of the texts "e quibus heri et hodie pauca commemoravimus". None can be excised without ruining the train of thought, and the third and eleventh, selected for liturgical use by Seebass' manuscripts, read very poorly in the absence of their context. All stand or fall together; and if we are prepared to attribute any of the collection to Columban, we are logically bound to the same attribution for them all.

We have, then, a connected series of thirteen sermons, which an early and consistent manuscript tradition ascribes to the authorship of Columban. The objections to that ascription must now be considered in detail. Some of Hauck's criticisms are far-fetched, some are actually fallacious. It is not, for example, the case that "quia" always means "because" in the

sermons, and "that" in the writings of Columban. Nor is it true that their vocabulary is entirely different. The sermons have a fair sprinkling of Greek words -- "agon", "clibanus", "hypocrita", "paracaraximus", "ergastulum" and "martyrizo"; and they also make some use of abstract terms, those circumlocutions which mark the style of Columban, such as "nostra parvitas" and "nostra loquacitas" in II and XIII. Rhyme appears, not only in the sermons, but also occasionally elsewhere; for example, in Regula Monachorum chapter IX -- "Quicumque itaque semper interrogaverit, si servaverit, numquam errabit". It is, of course, true, that the sermons are written in a style that is comparatively clear, simple and direct; but it would be ridiculous to expect here the involved rhetoric of the epistles, and there is plenty of evidence that Columban possessed sufficient mastery of language to vary his style according to the occasion. The rules are composed very differently from the letters, and the sermons, as is suitable to such a genre, stand mid-way in style between the two. Nor is it at all relevant that Jonas does not mention the existence of sermons delivered by his hero, for he nowhere gives a complete list of Columban's works; he merely refers his reader to them at the conclusion of his biography; and he does, on several occasions, relate that Columban preached. In fact, the only serious objections to his authorship are these: the similarity between the opening of number V and the Augustinian

Sermo 49 (10), and the quotations, once by name, from Faustus. However, number V of the present series is more clearly authenticated by the manuscript evidence than any other; and if its author has drawn, somewhat loosely, and without acknowledgement, from a few sentences of a previous writer, he was doing no more than what was the common practice of his time, and what in fact Columban did elsewhere, in Chapter X of his Regula Monachorum. A large body of sermon material, unprotected by any copyright, existed in the mediaeval world, and was used by preachers indiscriminately; no stigma attached to a plagiarism, which Columban may here have practised in all innocence. The reminiscences of Faustus, which Hauck noted, are for the most part imaginary; there is only one that provides any difficulty, and this is the quotation in sermon II. It is introduced as the words of a certain "sanctus Faustus", who, the preacher says, "nos viles licet commissos sibi docuit"; and it consists, with a few verbal differences, of the first part of the sermon, "Si quando terrae operarius..." which is now ascribed to Faustus, Bishop of Riez about the middle of the fifth century. This work has had a very complicated history. It was published under the name of "Eusebius Emisenus" by Gaigneius in 1547; under that of "Eusebius Gallicanus" in the Leyden Bibliotheca Patrum; and

(10) P.L. 40 col. 1332. The sermon is not a genuine work of Augustine.

under that of "Eucherius Lugdunensis" by Migne (11). The author was given by others as Hilary or Caesarius of Arles; Faustus of Riez was suggested by Casimir Oudin (12). Several of the manuscripts name "Eusebius Caesariensis" as the author, one only -- the Codex Reginensis 140 -- names Faustus. On the grounds of verbal parallels with the known works of Faustus, which in this case are particularly slight, the sermon, together with the collection in which it occurs, was attributed by Engelbrecht (13) to the Bishop of Riez. If this attribution is correct, the preacher of sermon II declares himself his pupil, and therefore cannot be Columban. But Engelbrecht's grounds are scarcely adequate, and it is more reasonable to regard the passage "Si quando terrae operarius..." as forming a part of that loose public stock of material, which preachers used and adapted for their special needs. It is not even an original composition, but is based on a few sentences from Cassian (14), and cannot be claimed as the exclusive property of any single writer. Columban may very easily have heard it from the lips of another Faustus, who was in fact his teacher; for Faustus was the Latin

(11) P.L. 50, col. 850 C-D.

(12) Commentarius (1722) I pp.392-422. The name of Faustus is also given in the Codex Regularum of Holstenius (I 475).

(13) A.G.Engelbrecht, Studien über die Schriften des Bischofs von Reii Faustus (1889) pp.77 foll.

(14) Cassian, Coll. I, 2 and 4 (P.L. 49, col. 483 B foll. and 485 B foll.; C.S.E.L. XLIII pp.8-10).

name used by Comgall of Bangor (15). This is not an entirely gratuitous assumption; there is almost certainly a reminiscence of the passage in the dying discourse attributed to Ursanne or Ursicinus (16); and Ursanne, Columban's disciple, must have had it from the Irish saint. By this remarkable fact, coupled with the weight of manuscript authority, good grounds are given for ascribing sermon II, together with the rest of the collection, to the pen of Columban; and this reasonable ascription would scarcely have been questioned, had it not been for the uncritical acceptance of Engelbrecht's verdict, joined to a confusion between two persons of the same name, Faustus.

It is the opinion of the present writer that the entire series of thirteen sermons was preached by Columban during his residence at Milan (17). The disputes in which he there engaged with the Arians will then explain the preoccupation of the first sermon with the doctrine of the Trinity. Against this background, the remainder develop an appeal for practical religion, which is entirely in accordance with Columban's character and views. Frequently his thoughts can be recognized under the guise of a new expression, sometimes his favourite phrases

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- (15) "Congellum scilicet Latine Fausti nomine illustrem" occurs at June 9th in the ninth century Martyrology of Notker (Canisius, Thesaurus monument. eccl. et hist. II iii p.141).
- (16) See P.Sudan, Basilea Sacra (1658) p.56; this is based on an eleventh century Life, which is now lost. There is perhaps another echo of the passage in Jonas I, 17.
- (17) This may be the reason why the whole series is primarily preserved in two manuscripts which came from Bobbio.

reappear in the same words. A proverbial expression ("Qui pauca non sufficiunt, plura non proderunt") is found both in sermons I and III, and in the seventh epistle, and in a modified form in the eighth chapter of the Regula Monachorum; it is found nowhere else, and its occurrence in these four passages alone strongly suggests that they are all the work of the same hand. Sermon XI has, at paragraph 3, another proverbial phrase ("Lacrimis in his opus magis quam verbis est") which is taken directly from the twelfth paragraph of the fifth epistle. Sermon III, near its beginning, uses words so similar to the first line of the poem De mundi transitu that they actually provided Gundlach with material for an emendation in the latter place. "Nostra parvitas" (twice) and "nostra loquacitas" (once) occur in sermons II and XIII, and are favourite expressions of Columban's. Sermon XI, again, has in paragraph 2 clear reminiscences of both the Rules; the sentence beginning "Divisa est enim..." recalls Regula Monachorum chapter VIII, and the later reference to de-traction is paralleled by several places of the Regula Coenobialis. Finally, the third paragraph of sermon XIII uses a turn of phrase ("Magna quidem posco, quis nesciat? Sed tu...") which is exactly repeated from the first epistle, paragraph 9 ("Importuna postulo et magna sciscitor, quis nesciat? Sed et tu..."). The style is indeed simple, but not entirely devoid of such graces as alliteration and chiasmus can provide; and there is a great depth of mystical feeling in the prayers of

sermons XII and XIII. One passage (18) recalls a famous metaphor from the De Incarnatione of Athanasius; much use is made of Cassian, and some of Jerome, Gregory the Great and the Penitential of Finnian (19).

To conclude:- On grounds primarily of the manuscript tradition, and also of style and content, thirteen sermons are here accepted as the genuine sermons of Columban; one (Migne's 15) is rejected as being the production of an imitator; one appears as Columban's seventh epistle; and two (the tracts De homine misero and De octo vitiis principalibus) are relegated to the category of his minor prose writings.

(18) Sermon XI, para. 2.

(19) As a further argument in favour of Columban's authorship, it must be noted that there is a remarkable similarity between the Biblical text quoted in the Sermons, and that used in his other works.

4. The Rules and Penitential.

During his stay at Luxeuil, Columban produced at least the nucleus of the three works which now fall to be considered -- the Regula Monachorum, concerned almost entirely with the principles of the ascetic life; the Regula Coenobialis, detailing the punishments appropriate to faults committed by his monks; and the Penitential, a code of discipline, not only or chiefly for monks, but also for those lay and clerical penitents who chose to submit themselves to the spiritual direction of the Abbot of Luxeuil. The faulty condition of the text indicates that these works were never codified in a final form; they seem rather to have been composed in fragments, and from time to time, in the manner of an aide mémoire, and without attention to literary style or logical consistency; at least one, the Regula Coenobialis, has been interpolated by Columban's successors. Each of the three, though for different reasons, now exists in two separate versions or editions.

The Regula Monachorum describes the ideal to be attained. With the exception of the regulations for the Divine Office in chapter VII, it is concerned purely with the interior dispositions of the soul. Its mention of monastic vows is incidental only, but the injunctions of chapter I to obey the superior "even unto death" cover all that a more formal profession could require. Poverty and chastity have each a separate chapter to

themselves. Bangor doubtless provided Columban's inspiration, and we probably have here a summary of the teaching of Comgall, a copy of whose rule is listed in the ninth century catalogue of Fulda. But the surviving Irish Rules are all later in date than that of Columban, and we have therefore no means of checking the suggestion of Dom Laporte (1), that the first six chapters of his rule are no more than an abridgement of some work by Comgall. Severity is the outstanding note of the Regula Monachorum -- Fintan of Clonenagh, Comgall's first teacher, is said to have been remarkably severe (2) -- yet Columban himself, who praised moderation in all things (3), was conscious of no exorbitance in his requirements. Indeed, by comparison with the excesses of some of the early Egyptian monks, with whose life he appears to have been familiar (4), his own rule represents a reasonable standard, even if sedulously strict. For Columban, perfection consists in the literal execution of a few basic precepts, fortified by an utter and personal loyalty of the disciple to his master. Details of conduct were left to be governed by the custom of the monastery; and the Regula Monachorum is a treatise on first principles, in its conception more akin to the Sermons than to such a work as the Rule of Benedict.

(1) In Mélanges Colombaniens (1950) p.76.

(2) A.Gwynn, in Mélanges Colombaniens (1950) p.48.

(3) "Si enim modum abstinencia excesserit, vitium non virtus erit" -- Regula Monachorum c. III.

(4) See the conclusion of Reg. Mon. c. VII.

The exception to this statement is provided by chapter VII. Its regulations for the "Cursus", and particularly for the nightly Vigils, are detailed but obscure. Some attempt at elucidation will be offered in the commentary to the passage; here it is sufficient to remark that the general pattern of worship seems similar to the Ambrosian and Mozarabic rites, rather than to the Roman, and is closely related to that exemplified by the Antiphonary of Bangor (5). It is a developed form of the system described by Cassian, of which Egypt was the original home, and St Mark the legendary author. An account of its transplanting to Ireland by way of France is given by an anonymous writer of the Carolingian period (6); his story, though it omits to mention the obvious influence of Cassian as an intermediary, and enters the realm of fable when it ascribes particular liturgical practices to the usage of St Mark, is none the less accepted in its general outline by Gougaud and Warren. Columban follows the spirit of Egyptian worship in his emphasis on nocturnal psalmody, and in the importance which he attaches to the solemn vigils of Saturday and Sunday; on these "holy nights" he prescribes a number of psalms, varying with the season from thirty-six to seventy-five; seasonal variations

(5) W.C.Bishop in Church Quarterly Review xxxvii (1894) p.340 foll.

(6) Haddan and Stubbs, Councils etc. I p.138.

are employed also in some of the continental rules, but Columban's total is in excess of what we find elsewhere. These vigils are for him the chief part of the Divine Office; they are preceded by short services at nightfall and at midnight; and during the day, there are the usual terce, sext and nones, with intercessions whose subject-matter is very similar to those in the Antiphonary of Bangor (7). His system is thus one of six offices in the twenty-four hours; the Antiphonary adds two more, compline and prime, making a total of eight in all. Columban also enjoins that time be spent in private prayer and meditation, so that a great part of his monks' day would be occupied in hearing and studying the Scriptures; as Christiani (8) remarks, "On ne saurait exagérer le rôle que (les Ecritures) jouaient dans cette spiritualité primitive. L'ambition du moine était de les savoir par coeur. Son esprit était constamment plein de textes bibliques." Bernard (9) is the earliest authority for the statement that Columban established the "Laus Perennis", a service of perpetual praise maintained by relays of successive choirs. It seems to have been established both at Agaune and at Dijon in the course of the sixth century (10); but it was certainly not contemplated by

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- (7) Sections 40-56 (ed. F.E. Warren II pp.22-4).
 (8) L.Christiani, Jean Cassien (1946) II p.213.
 (9) Vita Malachiae VI (P.L. 182, 1082 c).
 (10) P.Cousin in Mélanges Colombaniens (1950) p.186.

Columban, who describes a series of separate offices, at which the entire community is expected to join in common prayer. He makes no specific mention of the Eucharist; but, in view of Irish practice, it may be assumed that Mass was celebrated in his monasteries only on Sundays and on festivals.

Chapter X of the Regula Monachorum is in a fragmentary condition, and its present form consists simply of a few sentences taken from a letter of Jerome (11). The Cologne manuscript 231 replaces this chapter with the entire Regula Coenobialis, under the title "De diversitate culparum".

Benedict of Aniane (12) and Smaragdus (13) both quote an otherwise unknown passage as from the Rule of Columban, and it is possible that this may belong here; but perhaps the Rule, growing under its author's hands, was never finally completed.

The manuscripts divide into two groups, according to their arrangement of the chapters. The first group, which presents the Rule in ten chapters, comprises two Bobbio manuscripts, now at Turin -- G v 38 and G vii 16, of the tenth and eleventh centuries -- and the fifteenth-century cod. 231 of Cologne, in which, as noted above, the Regula Coenobialis takes the place of the fragmentary chapter X. The second group, emanating from St Gall, Reichenau and St Emmeran, comprises the tenth century

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- (11) In P.L. 22 col. 1080-1.
 - (12) P.L. 103, col. 1365-6.
 - (13) P.L. 102, col. 927 A.

cod. 915 of St Gall, the ninth century cod. Rh. hist. 28 of Zurich and the fifteenth century cod. 14949 (Em. w. 6) of Munich; these omit chapters VII and X, and subdivide chapters I and VIII, thereby making a total of fourteen short chapters in all. The subdivisions which these introduce are arbitrary, and it is obvious that chapters I and VIII are intended to be read as wholes; the Bobbio tradition, independently confirmed from Cologne, is undoubtedly authentic, and chapters VII and X must therefore be accepted as parts of the original Rule. It appears very probable that Columban's Rule, after it had been superseded by the Benedictine, continued to be used for general instruction in an abbreviated form. Chapter X would be omitted because of its derivative nature, chapter VII because its provisions no longer remained in force; precisely the same fate, in some of the manuscripts, has befallen the liturgical portions of the Rule of Caesarius. The remainder would be divided into small paragraphs suitable for meditation, and thus arose the alternative arrangement of Columban's Rule. Fragments of it are preserved also in three other manuscripts.

Much use is made of Basil, in the translation of Rufinus, also of Cassian and Jerome; and there are possible reminiscences of Augustine, Caesarius and Gregory the Great. Apart from a few examples of rhyme and alliteration -- such as "utilitati et usui", "proditionem atque perditionem" -- the Latin is crabbed, the style slipshod and irregular. "Ponderatrix", a new word,

makes its first appearance in chapter VIII. Although its actual observance was short-lived, Columban's Rule had a prolonged influence on later compilations. It is closely connected to the Regula cuiusdam patris ad monachos (14), which is early enough to show no trace of Benedictine influence. But Benedict provides even more material than Columban for the Regula cuiusdam ad virgines (15), which was probably presented to the nuns of Faremoutiers by Chagnoald and Waldebert (16), and for the Regula Magistri (17), which belongs, as I believe, to the seventh century. A good part of Columban's Rule occurs also in scattered fragments in the Concordia Regularum of Benedict of Aniane (18).

The Regula Coenobialis, according to Ebrard (19), is a Benedictine forgery, which was composed in order to discredit Columban by the severity of its provisions. Against this remarkable contention, it is enough to mention the evidence of Agrestius, who, about ten years after Columban's death, quoted (20) chapter I of this Rule in his attack on the followers of Columban. He refers to it as being "suae regulae", and the use of the singular suggests that to the mind of his contemporaries the two Rules formed a single whole; as has been seen,

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- (14) P.L. 66, col. 987.
 - (15) P.L. 88, col. 1051.
 - (16) L.Gougaud in Revue Bénédictine xxv (1908) p.326 foll.
 - (17) P.L. 88, col. 943; on the Regula Magistri, I accept in the main the conclusions of P.Blanchard in Revue Bénédictine lx (1950) pp.25-64.
 - (18) P.L. 103, col. 701.
 - (19) Die iroschottische Missionskirche (1873) p.147 foll.
 - (20) Jonas II 9.

the Cologne manuscript treats them as a unity. The detailed regulations of the second indeed form a necessary compliment to the general principles of the first; but the two are so diverse in their purpose and content that it is essential to discuss them separately.

The composition of the Regula Coenobialis is even more desultory and incoherent than that of the Regula Monachorum. It seems to have arisen out of a sort of notebook, in which disciplinary decisions were occasionally recorded as precedents for future use. This process was continued by Columban's immediate successors, so that two, or probably three, different strata can be distinguished by the evidence of vocabulary and of the manuscript tradition. With the advent of the Benedictine Rule, the Regula Coenobialis lost all validity and use, and its preservation is a happy accident. Neither of the Bobbio manuscripts possesses it, which perhaps implies that no copy was taken into Italy. Apart from a few fragments embedded in other compilations, it is known from five manuscripts. Four present a shorter version, which must be close to the original; these are the tenth-century cod. 915 of St Gall, the fifteenth-century cod. 14949 (Em.w.6) of Munich, and, from Vienna, the twelfth- or thirteenth-century cod. 1550 and the fifteenth-century cod. 3878. A much longer version, incorporating the later additions, is found in the Cologne cod. 231, which dates from the fifteenth

century. The passages peculiar to this last manuscript are distinguished by double brackets in the text of the present edition, and are almost certainly not from the pen of Columban. Some are ungrammatical in the context where they stand, and are obviously marginal notes which have crept into the text; some appoint different penalties for faults which are mentioned elsewhere in the shorter version, and, while these may represent alternatives permissible in extenuating circumstances, it seems most probable that they have been compiled by various authors and at diverse times. Further, within the shorter version, there is a marked change of vocabulary after chapter IX. Thereafter, the term "percussiones" is replaced by "verbera", and "abbas" and "oeconomus", names unknown to the earlier portion, are introduced. Chapter XIII indicates a later relaxation from the austere diet of the Regula Monachorum; for it treats two days on bread and water as a heavier penalty than fifty strokes, and, whereas Columban had enjoined a daily and perpetual fast, this chapter appears to recognize fasting as obligatory only on Wednesdays and Fridays. The conclusion must therefore be that chapters I to IX, in the shorter version, are the authentic nucleus of the Regula Coenobialis. The later additions have been made by Columban's successors in the general spirit of the original, and show the development of the customary of Luxeuil in the years immediately following its founder's death.

An interesting confirmation of this conclusion may be drawn from a study of the Rule of Donatus (21), which was compiled before the middle of the seventh century. Of its 77 chapters, 33 are derived from Benedict, 20 from Caesarius, 11 (nos. 23, 25-32, 34 and 75) from Columban; 5 are a conflation of Benedict and Caesarius, 4 (nos. 19, 37, 49 and 73) of Benedict and Columban, 3 (nos. 9, 11 and 33) of Caesarius and Columban. When quoting from the Regula Coenobialis, Donatus makes use only of the first nine chapters; but one exception to this, in his seventy-fifth chapter, shows that by his time the authentic nucleus had already been enlarged. Moreover, the text of Donatus indicates a period of transition from the shorter to the longer version of the Rule. Thus, he quotes chapter I without the later interpolations, but adds at the end of his quotation one clause, which appears at this place in the longer version, while the shorter postpones it to another paragraph. Chapter IV, in the text of Donatus, has an addition, similar to, but not identical with, the longer version. Chapter VIII is quoted exactly in its later and longer form. Another compilation, probably dating from the second half of the seventh century, shows the longer version fully established. This is a Nuns' Rule, discovered by Seebass (22) in another part of the Cologne

(21) P.L. 87, col. 273. See the article by Seebass in Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte XL (1922) pp. 133 foll.

(22) Seebass published the text of this Nuns' Rule in Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte XVI pp. 465-9, and discussed it in volumes XVIII (pp. 58 foll.) and XL (pp. 132 foll.) of the same periodical.

cod. 231, and shown by Krusch (23) to be later than Donatus; it quotes some fragments of the Regula Coenobialis, beginning in chapter IX, and quotes them entirely in the longer version.

To conclude, it seems highly probable that Columban was personally responsible only for the first nine chapters of this Rule. A further six were quickly added by his successors, and the change of organization occasioned by the departure of the founder is reflected in the changed vocabulary of this newer part. The whole fifteen chapters are transmitted by four manuscripts as the work of the Irish saint, but Donatus was chary of quoting any chapters later than the ninth. At the same time, a number of marginal additions and interpolations were made throughout the Rule; some crept into the text employed by Donatus, more into that of the later Nuns' Rule, and all were incorporated in the version which the Cologne manuscript presents. The quasi-poetical conclusion of this longer version appears to be an unsuccessful imitation of Columban's epistolary style, and the third and fourth paragraphs from the end are taken from his Penitential. In chapter VI of the authentic nucleus two phrases are repeated from the first chapter of the Regula Monachorum, and there are a few less certain reminiscences of his other works. The authors of the Regula Coenobialis seem to have known Cassian, Caesarius and several of the early monastic

(23) In Neues Archiv etc. XLVI (1925) pp.148 foll.

Rules. A number of interesting words make their appearance in the vocabulary -- "eulogiae" as meaning blessed bread, "chrismal" as a receptacle for the consecrated Host, and "rustrum" (in chapter IV), which may mean "altar", or possibly "plough". The style is barbarous throughout. But the historical interest, even of the later additions, is considerable, for this Rule gives a clearer picture than Columban's other writings of his disciples' daily life.

The Penitential, in its influence on the growth of the Church's institutions, has been of more lasting importance than the Rules. It is the earliest code which is known to have been used upon the continent (24), and it introduced that Celtic system of discipline, whose traces are found in almost all the later penitential books. Private and reiterated penance, preceded by the "confession of devotion", was hereby made available to the laity no less than to the monks; and this privacy and readiness of access combined to work a revolution in the ancient disciplines. Celtic influences have been traced (25) throughout the group of so-called Roman penitentials, so that "à dire vrai, il n'y a pas de pénitential romain" (26). It was indeed from Ireland that the mediaeval Church derived its characteristic forms of penance.

(24) This is denied by Schmitz (Bussbücher p.202 foll.); but see Wasserschleben, Bussordnungen pp.54 foll. and G.Mitchell in Mélanges Colombaniens (1950) p.143.

(25) P.Fournier in Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature Religieuses VI (1901) pp.289 foll.

(26) id. ib. IX (1904) p.103.

A long native tradition had been developed there by a succession of "anam-charas", "soul-friends" or confessors. There are the Canons of St Patrick and the Canones Hibernenses (27), which, though they incorporate later materials, date in essence from the fifth century. In the sixth century, the tradition is codified by the Penitential of Finnian (28), which forms Columban's chief source; its author corresponded with Gildas (29), and perhaps learnt from him to seek men's inner motives in treating the sickness of their souls. Gildas' own Praefatio de Penitentia, and the Excerpta of David, are the Welsh contribution to the Celtic family of penitentials; to it are related the Anglo-Saxon codes of Theodore, Bede and Egbert, and the Frankish compilation of Cummean.

Columban's Penitential was thought to be a work of the eighth century by H.J.Schmitz (30); but the authenticity of at least a substantial portion of it has been demonstrated by Hauck and Seebass (31). The text was published by Fleming, and

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- (27) Haddan and Stubbs, Councils etc. II pp.328 foll. and Wasserschleben, Bussordnungen pp.136 foll. For their date, see J.T.MacNeill in Révue Celtique xxxix (1922) pp.259 foll.
- (28) Wasserschleben, Bussordnungen pp.108 foll. The author is not Finnian of Moville, as stated by Schmitz and Seebass (Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte XIV p.437), but his namesake of Olonard, who is said by the Lismore Life (ed. Stokes p.223) to have been a pupil of Gildas and David (see further J.T.MacNeill in Révue Celtique xxxix p.266 foll.)
- (29) Columban, Epistle I para. 7.
- (30) Bussbücher p.592 foll. See also p.146 foll. and Archiv für katholische Kirchenrecht LXXI p.436 foll.
- (31) Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands I p.275; Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte XIV pp.430 foll. ib. XVIII pp.71 and Neues Archiv XXI pp.739-46.

is preserved in the two Bobbio manuscripts to which reference has already been made in this section -- the Turin codd. G v 38 and G vii 16, of the tenth and eleventh centuries, the former breaking off ten and a half chapters from the end, and both presenting this work immediately after the Regula Monachorum and the Sermons. There are in all five divisions, but the sharpest break occurs after canon 12, where a fresh prefatory paragraph begins what is in effect a new book; the two parts are conveniently denominated Penitentials A and B. It is usually maintained (32) that canons 1-25 of B are the authentic portion, and that A represents a summary or revision made after the author's death; in the present writer's opinion, not only are both the work of Columban, but A was actually written first. It is much shorter and less explicit than the part which follows, makes no distinctions according to the sinner's circumstances, and is precisely the sort of brief treatise on the major sins, with a few clauses to deal with disorderly monks added, which Columban might have brought with him from Ireland, or composed during the initial period of his stay in France. When, as Jonas (33) records, the saint was obliged by the crowds of penitents to enlarge his settlements, he no doubt felt the need for a fuller and more detailed code, where more careful count might be taken

(32) See Hauck and Seebass, loc. cit. and A.G.Bergamaschi in Mélanges Colombaniens (1950) p.161.

(33) Jonas I 10.

of individual needs, and in which a few points of the earlier treatise might be corrected in the light of subsequent experience, some in the direction of greater severity, some towards a more lenient view; instead of adding to the old, he wrote a completely fresh treatise, Penitential B, which is closely linked to A by the order of its canons and by the sources it employs, and whose differences from A are small enough for both to have been composed at various times by the same hand. Out of the twelve canons of A, five are taken more or less directly from the code of Finnian; out of the first twenty-five canons, which form the substance of B, the number which can be traced to the same source is fourteen. Both follow the same general arrangement in their classification of offences, but B deals with the sins of laymen separately from those committed by the clergy. Both have a few sections at the end devoted to the more trifling faults of monks. Those of B touch matters which Columban does not raise elsewhere, and Seebass (34) thought, though without much evidence, that chapters 10-15 of the Regula Coenobialis had originally followed here. Sections 9-12 of A are couched in terms identical with certain clauses of that Rule; if it had already been in existence when Penitential A was written, no purpose could have been served by their inclusion, or indeed by any such fragmentary discussion

(34) Seebass, Über Columban von Luxeuils Klosterregel und Bussbuch (1883) p.49.

of the discipline of monks; and it therefore seems highly probable that the Regula Coenobialis was composed after the Penitential, which provided it with a certain number of its phrases. These are mostly to be found in the early chapters of the shorter version, which Columban himself composed, but two entire canons (A 11 and 12) have been incorporated by his successors near the end of the longer version of the Rule. A further argument for the early date of Penitential A, and in particular for its priority to B, arises from the fact that it makes no mention of the minister of the penitential discipline, whereas B refers to the "judgement of the priest or bishop"; in B 1, where the original canon of Finnian speaks of "priest or abbot", Columban's change of "abbot" to "bishop" must represent some concession to the contemporary practice of the continental Church. It is even possible that the words have been modified by his successors into their present form. B 25, which treats of communion with the heretical followers of Bonosus, may also have been added after Columban's death (35); but there is no real reason why he should not have met groups of these heretics himself. Where Finnian is silent, he sometimes draws on Gildas, David and even Patrick, but his penalties tend to

(35) A. Malnory, Quid Luxovienses monachi etc. p.71. Further doubt is cast on the authenticity of this canon by its mention of grades of penitents, and reconciliation by the imposition of a bishop's hands, both of which represent Roman rather than Celtic practice.

be heavier than theirs. The style is plain and business-like, with an attempt at elegance only in the prefatory paragraph to Penitential B, and the vocabulary is simple and austere. A characteristic feature is the frequent analysis of motive.

It thus appears that Columban wrote what are in effect two Penitentials, now incorporated into one; he was obliged to do so by the increasing numbers of penitents with whom he had to deal, and his teaching introduced a new form of penance to the continental Church. His Rules also are preserved in two versions each; but whereas the Regula Coenobialis has been expanded into a longer version by the additions of his successors, the Regula Monachorum is authentic in its longer form, being reduced in a later period by the omission of chapters which by then had fallen out of use.

5. Minor Prose Writings.

This section opens with two short tracts, the De homine misero and the De octo vitiis principalibus, which have previously been classified as sermons. The first, however, is addressed not to a congregation but to a single reader, and the second is closely linked to it as a continuation of the same theme. The recipient is apparently a young man who is sunk in the torpor of this world's illusions, and who is urged to awaken and subject himself to the discipline of the religious life; he is probably one of the young nobles whose education was entrusted to Columban, or may even be King Theudebert, who was urged by the saint to abdicate and become a monk (1). In the absence of clearer indications, it is impossible to date these works with certainty; but they are proved to be authentic not only by the manuscript tradition, but also on the evidence of their contents. Columban's ideas are here expressed in his own phrases; turns of expression frequently recall the sermons, and the principle of curing vices by contraries is very close to the thought of Penitential A 12. The enumeration of eight deadly sins is derived from Cassian, the more familiar number of seven being found in Gregory the Great. The word "pigritudo", a very rare form of "pigritia", occurs at the opening of the first of these two tracts.

(1) Jonas I, 28.

The third work included in this section is the little extract from an astronomical treatise, entitled De Saltu Lunae. It is concerned, not so much with the actual "leap" of the moon -- the fact that an entire day had to be omitted once in every nineteen years -- as with the precise length of the lunation, which it succeeds in estimating to within five minutes of the figure given in the textbooks of to-day. For its calculations, it employs the nineteen year cycle of Dionysius Exiguus, accepted at Rome in 525 A.D.; and, while it has the appearance of being a mere extract from some longer work, the present fragment does no more than work out the implications of that cycle. It is preserved in two manuscripts, the ninth-century cod. 250 of St Gall, and the eleventh-century cod. 14569 of Munich; the first introduces it with the words "Sanctus Columbanus Haec de Saltu Lunae ait", the second entitles it "Lectio S. Columbani De Saltu Lunae". It is also cited, as a work of Columban's, by Notger Labeo in his Computus (2). The training of the Irish saint included studies that would have enabled him to write it, and he must have had the opportunity of access to convenient libraries during his sojourn in Milan. It is by no means impossible that on mature reflection he was there led to adopt the Dionysian cycle in place of the antiquated Irish calculations, the more so as he was occupied at that time in closing the ranks

(2) Jonas, ed. Krusch Intro. p.20 note 1.

of the Catholics in order to make a more effective impression on the Arians. Such was the opinion of Loof's (3) -- "tamen in Italia Columba videtur se conformasse ad morem universae ecclesiae" -- and although this has been denied by the majority of later writers (4), they have had no better evidence to offer than the grounds of an a priori bias. The author of the De Saltu Lunae certainly accepted the Dionysian cycle; and as all the available indications point to Columban as that author, the tract is here included in his works.

Finally, there is the Oratio Sancti Columbani, found under that title in the eleventh-century Turin cod. G v 2, and printed by Seebass in his article on Columban in Hauck's Realencyclopädie. It includes in its brief compass one example of chiasmus ("...intellectum et opus bonum inseras; ut opere et veritate deserviam...") and in its longing for union with Christ in the Divine Charity, it recalls the prayers of Sermons XII and XIII.

(3) Loof's, Antiq. Brit. Scot. eccl. quales fuerint mores p.93.

(4) See M. Manitius, Geschichte der lateinischen Litteratur des Mittelalters I p.187, and Krusch's Introduction to Jonas p.20.

6. The Poems.

The authenticity of the poems was questioned by Hertel (1) on very slight grounds, but his objections have been met by Gundlach (2), Manitius (3) and Krusch (4). The last author points out that their leading ideas are those consistently taught by Columban -- the transitory nature of this world, and the deceitfulness of life. In the present edition, six poems are accepted as genuine; the Monosticha, printed by Migne amongst Columban's works, belongs in fact, as will be argued in the following section, to an author of later date.

The two elegiac couplets In Mulieres are probably his earliest surviving work, and may well have been written during the young poet's sojourn with Sinell at Cluain Innis. Goldast indeed maintained that the poem was written in Burgundy and with Brunhilda in mind -- "aut vehementer fallor, aut hoc epigramma in Brunichildem scripsit, sceleratissimam Burgundionum reginam" (5). But it is now universally agreed that the second couplet contrasts Eve with Mary (6). The poem is just the sort of brief exercise that a boy trained on the classics would have attempted, but is hardly of sufficient force and weight to be

(1) In Zeitschrift für die historische Theologie (1875) pp.427 foll.

(2) In Neues Archiv XV pp.514 foll.

(3) Manitius, Geschichte der lateinischen Litteratur des Mittelalters, I p.185.

(4) Jonas, Intro. p.19.

(5) Note in P.L. 80 col. 306 A.

(6) See Seebass in Neues Archiv XVII (1892) p.259.

the work of a mature writer. It is more than probable that it echoes the advice of that pious woman, whose words drove Columban to leave his home (7). The praises of the last line refer to Mary, and not to womankind in general; for, as Hertel pointed out, if the reference were general, it would have been incredible that Columban, who was a confirmed misogynist, should have composed this work. Its preservation is due to Goldast, who printed it from a manuscript now lost.

To the same early period we may assign a much longer poem, in rhyming trochaic stanzas, which begins "Mundus iste transibit", and to which the present edition gives the title De mundi transitu. Jonas (8) states that while with Sinell, Columban "multa... quae vel ad cantum digna vel ad docendum utilia, condidit dicta". This description fits the present poem so aptly in both its parts, that it was probably written with the De mundi transitu specifically in mind. Not only does this work contain much instruction on the vanity of life, but also, deserting classical metres for the prosody of mediaeval hymns, it is particularly suitable for singing. It elaborates the leading idea of the poem In Mulieres, and is the type of production to be expected from a young man meditating his vocation to the religious life. In lines 61-2 ("Caveto filiule Feminarum

(7) Jonas I 3.
 (8) id. ib.

species..."), the author appears to be addressing himself. A few of the thoughts and even phrases reappear in Epistle V and Sermon III, and the poem is very close to Sermon V in spirit. Almost all of the quotations certainly identifiable are from the Bible, and these are introduced in a form as near to the scriptural text as the metre will permit. Here Columban strips himself of all secular learning and literary grace, as though preparing for the sacrifice of what gave him most delight; and yet in the conclusion, from line 89 to the end, he achieves an effect of remarkable power and beauty. In all his later poems, he returns to the style of those classical models which had formed the staple of his education, and the De mundi transitu, isolated as it is by its metre from the remainder, must surely belong to that period of crisis when he decided to turn his back upon the world.

The acrostic verses to Hunaldus are shown by their initial letters to have been written by an author of the name of "Columbanus". Hertel, noting that the Epistles always use the form "Columba", assumed that this poem must be the work of another hand. In point of fact both forms were current -- Jonas (9) calls his hero "Columbanus... qui et Columba" -- and the usage of the Epistles is governed simply by their author's delight in playing with the meaning of his name. Hunaldus

(9) Jonas I 2.

appears to be a pupil, or former pupil, of the writer, and he may perhaps have studied under Columban at Bangor. Here, the saint was recalled to classical studies by his duties as a teacher (10); and, out of the seventeen hexameters which he addresses to his pupil, one is taken direct from Horace, one from Prudentius, one from Juvenius, and in the majority of the others, recollections of the Latin poets can be traced. Line 17 anticipates the teaching of the Regula Monachorum on the virtue of moderation. There is no clear indication of the date of the poem; Gundlach (11) assigned it to the years 612-5 with some hesitation, but it seems at least equally possible that it was written from Bangor. For here, Columban had greater opportunities for this type of writing than during the turmoil of his later life.

The seventy-seven hexameters addressed to Sethus belong to the same period and style of composition. Fabricius and Canisius wished to add this poem to the previous one, and conjectured "Hunaldus" as the name of the recipient in line 1; but their emendation is unfortunate and pointless, since its acrostic system shows that the poem to Hunaldus is complete. Though he begins by apologizing to Sethus for his poor Latinity, Columban manages to display a wide range of reading in the classics; once, in line 37, he quotes Horace as "the poet", and near the end, he includes a long extract from the Latin Anthology. The

(10) See Chapter II section I above.

(11) In his edition of the poem (M.G.H. Epp. III).

style is vigorous, the imagery clear and pointed, and the familiar themes of the brevity of life and the deceitfulness of riches are treated with success.

Next in order of the surviving poems, but somewhat later in date than the preceding, is the rowing-song or Carmen Navale; it comprises twenty-four hexameters, with a refrain, which changes in the middle, repeated after every second line. It was discovered by W. Meyer in the tenth-century Leyden cod. Vossianus Graecus Q 7, and printed by Dümmler in the Neues Archiv (12). The title is partly illegible, giving the author's name as "...banus", but the language of the opening lines strongly recalls the naval metaphors of Columban's fifth epistle, and there can be little doubt that he is also the author here. Previously, Dümmler had published (13) a somewhat similar rowing-song, with the first refrain of the Carmen Navale occurring at every fourth line; he found it in the Berlin cod. Diez B Sant. 66, of the eighth century, where it immediately follows the poem to Fidolius. This seems to be a version adapted for use at sea, whereas the original Carmen Navale, with its reference in line 2 to the Rhine, must have been composed by Columban during his journey up that river in the year 611. Two lines are

(12) E. Dümmler in Neues Archiv VI (1881) pp. 190 foll.

(13) In Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum, 17, Neue Folge 5, (1874) pp. 144-5. The same poem is published by Peiper in Rheinisches Museum für Philologie, Neue Folge 32 (1877) p. 523.

taken wholly from Virgil, and two others partly so. In line 16, "strofas" is scanned with the penultimate syllable long, which suggests that the author's knowledge of Greek was mediocre. The long sweep of the rhythms gives to this poem a quality of untiring strength.

Finally, there is the playful poem addressed to Fidolius, in 159 verses of Adonic metre, followed by six hexameter lines as a conclusion. Hertel considered that its vein was too light for Columban's earnest spirit, but in reality it is only the choice of metre that creates such an impression. Line 163 raises a more serious question, with its statement: "Nunc ad olympiadis ter senae (v.l. senos) venimus annos". The natural implication of this is that, if the poem was written near the time of Columban's death in 615, he had been born about the year 543, or even earlier; and owing to the difficulty of reconciling this date with the chronology implied by Jonas, Gwynn (14) has denied that Columban can be the author of the poem to Fidolius. Mrs Concannon suggests (15) that all Columban's poems, including the present, were really youthful school exercises, following a set pattern, in which presumably the references to old age were simply copied from the models imitated; but what these models were is not stated, nor is it in the slightest degree probable that a school-boy could have composed any but the earliest of

(14) A.Gwynn in Studies VII pp.474-84.

(15) H.Concannon, Life of St Columban (1915) p.41.

the series. It is just conceivable that "olympias" may be a barbarism for "olympica vita", the monastic life (16); in which case, with the reading "senos", line 163 of the poem to Fidolius would mean no more than that its author had spent eighteen years since his first profession as a monk. It is again possible that the line is a later addition, for the concluding six hexameters are omitted by the earliest manuscript, the Berlin cod. Diez B Sant. 66. But in fact, Jonas is so confused and even self-contradictory (17) in his account of Columban's early years, that his evidence on this point carries little weight; and in view of the good and early manuscript tradition -- of the four manuscripts which transmit the poem under Columban's name, none is later than the tenth century -- the verses to Fidolius must be accepted as authentic, together with their implications for his date of birth. They were most probably composed at Milan in the year 613, for thereafter Columban was too much occupied in supervising the foundation of Bobbio to have much leisure or opportunity for poetic composition. Wattenbach (18) took Fidolius as an alternative form of the name Fridolin; he may more probably be the friend or disciple mentioned in the fifth

(16) cf. Lanfred's "Life of St Swithin" sect. 3 -- "fratribus olympicam in utroque coenobio ducentibus vitam"; but here the context gives a clear indication of the meaning.

(17) See Chapter II, section I above, where the question is discussed.

(18) Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter I p.101 note 3.

paragraph of the fourth epistle, in which case he had travelled into parts of what now is Germany. He appears to have been a rich man, or at least to have been placed in a situation where he required a special warning against riches. The poem which he received depicts the ill effects of gold in a series of tales from classical mythology, of which the chief source is found in the third book of Horace's Odes; frequent use is made also of Virgil and of Ovid, and there are a few reminiscences of the earlier poems to Hunaldus and to Sethus. The scansion is perfect, and with the exception of one new (18) word -- "carminula" -- the Latinity is of the best. Despite its serious touches, the poem is intensely pleasing. A remarkable production for any author of the sixth century, it forms, from the literary point of view, the crown of Columban's achievement.

(18) The word "carminula" appears also in Verg. Gramm. Epit. II (ed. Huemer, p. 8, 1); but the date of this author is still the subject of dispute.

7. Lost and Spurious Works.

It can be estimated that a fair proportion of the works of Columban have not survived; these lost works amounted to perhaps one quarter of the whole. The most serious loss has undoubtedly been that of the Commentary on the Psalter, which Jonas states (1) that his hero composed "elimato sermone" at a very early age. Copies of this were in existence some three hundred years after its author's death; for the ninth-century Catalogue of the library of St Gall lists an "Expositio Sancti Columbani super omnes psalmos vol. I" -- with the marginal note, "Ruodinum vidi R. habere qui dixit suum esse" (2) -- and the tenth-century Catalogue of Bobbio contains a mention of "libros Sancti Columbani in psalmos II" (3). Attempts have been made to identify as the missing Commentary two surviving treatises -- one, the Pseudo-Hieronymic exposition of the Psalter (4), the other, the Commentary with Irish glosses contained in the Ambrosian cod. C 301 (5). The former work, though it includes some genuine passages from Jerome (6), can be proved from

(1) Jonas I 3.

(2) G.Becker, Catalogi Bibliothecarum Antiqui (1885) p.48.

(3) id. ib. p.67; Manitius, Lateinische Litteratur I p.183.

(4) Printed from Vallarsi's edition by Migne, P.L. 26, col. 821 foll.

(5) Printed by G.I.Ascoli in 1878 under the title, Il Codice Irlandese dell'Ambrosiana (Archivio glottologico Italiano V pp.1-610); a facsimile edition was produced by R.I.Best in 1936, for the Royal Irish Academy.

(6) Morin has attempted to disentangle these in Anecdota Maredsolana III para 1.

internal evidence (7) to have been compiled in the latter part of the fifth century; and the present writer has suggested elsewhere (8) that, in its completed form, the compilation may be due to Faustus of Riez. To his edition of this work, Vallarsi added a short and inaccurate transcript of some pages from the Ambrosian manuscript, and argued in his preface that Columban might be the author of the whole. His suggestion was followed up by Nigra (9), Ramsay (10) and Morin (11); but Vaccari (12) has clearly demonstrated that the Ambrosian Commentary is in fact a work of Theodore of Mopsuestia, adapted and translated into Latin by Julian of Eclanum. It can only be concluded that the missing Commentary by Columban was lost when, under Paul V, parts of the Bobbio Library were transported to Milan and Rome. Fleming (13) was informed by the librarian of Bobbio that Columban had also written an exposition of the Gospels; but in view of the silence of the ancient catalogues, it is extremely doubtful whether such a work actually existed.

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- (7) e.g. its statement (1159 A) that the Jews have had no prophet for the last 400 years, and its reference (862 B) to Eucherius of Lyons, the latest author whom it names.
 - (8) In a paper communicated to the Oxford Patristic Conference of September 1951.
 - (9) In Revue Celtique I (1870-2) pp.62 foll.
 - (10) In Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie VIII (1910-2) pp. 447 foll.
 - (11) In Revue Bénédictine xxxviii (1926) pp.164 foll.
 - (12) In Civiltà Cattolica I (1916) pp.578-93, and Bulletin du Cange XVI (1942) pp.161 foll.; Mercati, in Atti della R. Accademia delle Scienze di Torino 31 (1896) pp.655-76, first identified Theodore as the original author.
 - (13) Collectanea Sacra, Praefatio, sub fine.

Jonas nowhere gives a complete list of Columban's writings, but he mentions several incidentally of which no trace now remains. Such are the letters of reproof to Theuderic and Clothaire II (14), and the treatise against the Arians (15) written at Milan. Columban himself says (16) that he had written more than once to Gregory, though that correspondence is now represented only by Epistle I; elsewhere, he mentions (17) three "tomes" addressed to that Pontiff, and a short summary sent to Arigius, all of which have now perished, together with the treatise on the Three Chapters, in which Agrippinus was attacked (18). The opening of Epistle VII perhaps presupposes a previous letter to the same disciple, but it may equally refer to that oral teaching of which a deposit is contained in the Sermons and the Rules. It is probable that Columban wrote other poems besides those which have survived; for not only does Jonas (19) mention the bulk of his early compositions, but the tenth-century Catalogue of the monastery of St Nazarius at Lorsch lists, after the verses of Dracontius "De virginitate", "De fabrica mundi metrum Columbanī, et alii versus quam plurimi in uno codice" (20).

(14) Jonas I 19 and 30.

(15) id. I 30.

(16) Epistle III para. 2.

(17) Epistle II para. 5.

(18) Epistle V para. 3.

(19) Jonas I 3.

(20) Becker, Catalogi Bibliothecarum Antiqui p.111.

One of the poems, however, which Migne, following Goldast, included in his edition, is certainly not the work of Columban. This consists of 205 hexameters, and is entitled "*Praecepta vivendi quae Monosticha dicuntur*". Gundlach (21) argued in favour of Columban's authorship from the manuscript tradition, and it must be admitted that this is superficially strong. The two tenth-century St Gall. codd. 197 and 198 include the poem, under the title "*Libellus cuiusdam sapientis et ut fertur beati Columbani*"; the same title is employed by the tenth-or eleventh-century cod. lat. 190 of Leyden, by the eleventh-century cod. 8092 of Paris and by the thirteenth-century cod. Cotton. Julius D II of the British Museum. The eleventh-century cod. Gg 5.35 of the Cambridge University Library states, without the qualification of "*ut fertur*", that the poem is Columban's; its title reads "*Versus Columbani abbatis de bonis moribus observandis*". The opening sixteen lines of the poem are contained in the tenth century cod. Cotton. Cleopatra C VIII of the British Museum, and in the contemporary list of contents these are designated as being "*Sancti Columbani Hiberni*". In four other manuscripts, the poem is preserved without an author's name; these are the ninth-century cod. F iii 15 of Basel, the tenth-century cod. 8303 of Paris -- containing only 156 verses --, the tenth-century cod. Palat. 243 of the Vatican Library -- which concludes

(21) In Neues Archiv XV (1890) p.520 note.

at verse 194 -- and the eleventh-century cod. 408 of Munich. This is a formidable list of manuscripts, but it must be noted that only two out of the eleven are unhesitating in their attribution of the poem to Columban; five qualify that ascription with the words "ut fertur", and four do not venture to give the author's name. The earliest manuscript, that at Basel, simply entitles the poem "Praecepta vivendi per singulos versus quae monastica (sic) dicuntur"; and of those which name Columban, none is earlier than the tenth century. Dümmler has pointed out (22) that much of the poem bears a close resemblance to the works of Alcuin, and that line 88 is quoted as Alcuin's by Servatus Lupus (23). Servatus, a careful and critical scholar, was almost a contemporary of Alcuin, and his words are these: "In versibus moralibus, quos Alcuinus dicitur edidisse, statera sic posita est -- Non tibi sit modius duplex, nec statera duplex" (Monosticha line 88). Streib has added (24) the evidence of Hrabanus, who was a pupil of Alcuin, and who knew his master by the intimate name of "Albinus"; in his work on Priscian's De arte grammatica, Hrabanus quotes Monosticha, line 40, as being from "Albanus (sic) in Monasticis" (25), and elsewhere (26)

(22) In M.G.H. Poet. Lat. Med. Aevi I (1881) pp.164 foll. See the same writer's remarks in Neues Archiv IV p.138.

(23) Epistle 20, (P.L. 119, 467 C).

(24) A. Streib, in Münchener Museum für Philologie II (1914) pp.343 foll.

(25) P.L. 111 col. 653 B.

(26) ib. col. 670 C.

he refers to what he calls the "Monastica Albini". In view of this early and precise evidence, there can be little doubt that Alcuin is the author or compiler of the poem. Its nucleus is based on the third century Disticha Catonis, to which material from later sources has been added; three lines -- 7, 8 and 85 -- have been taken from Columban's verses to Sethus, and their occurrence in the Monostica has caused the error of those later scribes, who attributed that poem to Columban.

Another spurious work is Metzler's Exhortation beginning "In ecclesia Dei..." which, as noted in section 3 above, must be the production of a later imitator.

8. St Columban as a Writer.

The most significant aspect of Columban's style is its freedom from rigidity; each of the main groups of his writings is composed in a manner peculiar and suitable to itself; and even within one of these groups, that of the letters, the idiom is varied according to the interests of the recipient. His epistolary style is chiefly marked by an involved word order, of which a good example is provided in Epistle III, para. 2: "portitores nostrorum ad beatae memoriae papam conscriptorum Gregorium olim apicum in subiectis positorum." There is a love of diminutives -- "ingeniolum", "pauperculus", "consiliolum", "carminulum", "scribiciuncula" -- and a preference for abstract rather than concrete terms -- "occidentalis caecitas", "efficacia tua", "peritia tua", "placabilitas tua" and many more, culminating in the phrase "da sequacitatem" of Epistle VII. Sometimes, and particularly in the fifth epistle, the heat of his argument carries the writer off into long and complex sentences, of which the grammar almost defies analysis. But elsewhere, an effective use of alliteration gives a crisp, terse quality to the style; this is seen in such phrases from the fourth epistle as the following, "circa caduca contentio est", and "quid enim prodest habere corpus et non habere cor?" The same effect is achieved in some passages from the Regula Monachorum -- "cibus sit vilis et vespertinus monachorum" (1) -- but in the Sermons it can run

(1) Regula Monachorum c. III.

to an excess of rhetoric -- "fulcris firmissimis fides credentium firmata est" (2), "regem regum recto regimine regna regentem" (3) -- though in such a phrase as "vitia tua vende et eme vitam" (4) it can be peculiarly successful. Internal rhymes occur in a fair number of Columban's hexameter verses, and rhyming jingles appear frequently in his prose; examples of this from the Sermons are "dissimilis luxu, similis fluxu" (5), "labor enim et fatigatio in itinere versatur, in patria requies et securitas paratur" (6) and "Dei enim dilectio, imaginis eius renovatio" (7). Chiasmus is used occasionally, and always with good success. "Plus scit pietas tacens quam impia loquacitas" -- so says Columban in Sermon I, para. 5, and he seems to have been conscious that verbosity was the main fault against which he had to guard. It is only in the Epistles that he allows his fertile imagination its full course, and enriches his vocabulary with strange new terms derived from Greek; he often chooses a rare word when it is available, but the Sermons are much more simple and restrained, while the Rules are composed in a dry and even crabbed style, and the poems are uniformly vigorous and clear. His laboured puns are sometimes tedious; but, apart from an uncertain use of the Subjunctive, and an enlarged vocabulary,

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- (2) Sermon I para. 2.
 - (3) Sermon VIII para. 2.
 - (4) De homine misero.
 - (5) Sermon V para. 1.
 - (6) Sermon V para. 2.
 - (7) Sermon XI para. 1.

his Latinity is wonderfully pure. Roger is too critical of Columban's style when he writes (8): "Le fonds de sa langue est formé de latin ecclésiastique, avec l'abus des mots abstraits, des mots composés et des hellénismes. Mais en le lisant attentivement, on y relève des réminiscences des auteurs profanes, on y reconnaît des mots qui leur sont plus familiers qu'aux écrivains ecclésiastiques. Le style est sans art, les phrases sont souvent longues et embarrassées... Les poèmes de Colomban, en particulier l'Epistola ad Hunaldum, ont une allure classique. Ils se distinguent aussi des oeuvres en prose par leur sérénité." It is scarcely fair to dismiss Columban's writings as a mere artless reflection of the ecclesiastical Latin of his day. His style is so intimately wedded to his personality, the words are charged with such nervous energy and power, that they have the appearance of unpremeditated composition; but a closer reading reveals the conscious art, the deliberate carefulness, with which the expression is fitted to the meaning, and content matched by form. Although he uses what is perhaps an excessive number of abstractions, he tends always to think in precise and concrete images; the length of his phrases is the result of the fervour of his thought; and even in his less fortunate experiments, where he coins new words or,

(8) M. Roger, L'Enseignement des Lettres Classiques d'Ausone à Alcuin (1905) pp.231-2.

in Roger's view, "abuses" old ones, his choice is governed by the desire for vivid and expressive terms. This quality of strenuous vivacity, this intimate fusion of personal character and literary style, rescue Columban's writings from the dry dust of his contemporaries, and set them on a level of their own.

But Roger is correct in pointing out Columban's debt to the classical authors. He is deeply read in Horace, whose works were practically unknown on the continent from the sixth to the eighth centuries; he can quote Virgil readily, and is familiar also with Ovid, Juvenal, Martial and Sallust. The Latin Anthology provides him with a long quotation, and of later authors, he knows Prudentius, Fortunatus, Juvenius, Sedulius, Ausonius and Claudian. In the poem to Fidolius, he shows his mastery of a wide tract of classical mythology, and the casual nature of his references proves the thoroughness with which his youthful training had been imbibed. For Columban, classical studies were not merely a graceful accomplishment, but had exercised a formative power upon the mind. They provide him with the means of self-expression, and with a standard of literary taste; and under the Bible, they form a subordinate but important source of inspiration, of which his sense of propriety and love of moderation are the fruit. The old ideal of simply grafting Christianity on to pagan culture died out with Fortunatus, and in Columban these two elements, both equally foreign to the primitive traditions of his native land, are

fused into a single whole. His linguistic learning included a few words of Greek and Hebrew, but no more than what might be derived piecemeal from the glossaries; of Latin literature his knowledge was both deep and wide (9).

Amongst the ecclesiastical writers, his favourites are Cassian and Jerome, from whom he draws a wealth of expressions and ideas. Finnian is the main source for his penitential writings, and he has also read Gildas. Basil, in the translation of Rufinus, provides much material for the Regula Monachorum. Slight touches come from Augustine, Athanasius and Caesarius; Eusebius and Gennadius are freely quoted in the correspondence on the Paschal question; and Columban was an avid reader of the works of Gregory the Great. But the Latin Bible provides the main source of his quotations, and the Bible is indeed the only source in which he recognizes an ultimate authority (10). The text which he employs has been largely assimilated to the Vulgate, but it preserves a proportion of readings from the Old Latin, and in some places represents a version peculiar to himself. The Vulgate text was almost unknown to Patrick, but by the sixth century it had made a great impression on the writings of Gildas and other insular authors, and its later progress in Ireland can be traced as a steady advance (11).

(9) See further L. Bieler, The Humanism of St Columban, in Mélanges Colombaniens (1950) pp.95 foll.

(10) Sermon II para. 1, Epp. I para. 4, II para. 5 and V para. 3.

(11) S. Berger, Histoire de la Vulgate (1893) p.30 foll.; L. Gougaud, Les Chrétientés Celtiques (1911) pp.253-4; Chapman, however, maintains that Patrick brought the Vulgate to Ireland from Lérins (Early History of the Vulgate Gospels, 1908, pp.162-80).

The conflate readings which now appear may be the result of scribal corrections made at a later date, and it is impossible to be certain how much of the remaining peculiarities are due to the mistakes of authors who quoted from a faulty memory; but sufficient material survives to prove that the Irish Church originally possessed, and continued for a long period to use, a version of the Scriptures different from any other known. This material has been analysed by Haddan and Stubbs (12), but their collection of texts is incomplete; a full and detailed analysis of Columban's biblical quotations will be found in the Index Scriptorum to the present edition, of which the results may be summarized in the following table. Quotations from the Vulgate text are listed in column 2; those from a known version of the *Vetus Latina* in column 3; column 4 contains those where the reference is too vague for certainty on the underlying text; and column 5, those where Columban uses a version peculiar to himself. Texts twice quoted by Columban, if they appear in the same version, are here counted as one.

<u>Book</u>	<u>Vulgate</u>	<u>Vet.Lat.</u>	<u>Uncertain</u>	<u>Peculiar</u>	<u>Total</u>
Genesis	2				2
Exodus	1		4		5
Leviticus	2		3		5
Deut.	2	1	2	2	7
I Reg.			1		1

(12) Councils etc. I pp.170-98.

<u>Book</u>	<u>Vulgate</u>	<u>Vet.Lat.</u>	<u>Uncertain</u>	<u>Peculiar</u>	<u>Total</u>
Iob	1	1			2
Psalmi	13	2	4	4	23
Prov.	1		1	2	4
Eccles.	3		1		4
Cant.	2	1		1	4
Sap.				1	1
Eccolus.	3		1	2	6
Isai.	2	2	5	7	16
Ierem.	2	1	2	3	8
Ezech.	1				1
Daniel	1				1
Ioel				1	1
Ionas				2	2
Habac.				1	1
Soph.				1	1
Zach.		1			1
Malach.				2	2
Matt.	17	3	18	10	48
Luc.	8		6	7	21
Ioann.	11	9	6	2	28
Acta	2			1	3
Rom.	7	3	5		15
I Cor.	8	4	2	5	19
II Cor.	5	2		2	9
Gal.	2	1	1	1	5
Eph.	3	1	2	2	8
Philipp.		1		2	3
Col.	1		2	1	4
I Thess.	2				2
I Tim.	3			2	5
II Tim.	2	2	2	1	7

<u>Book</u>	<u>Vulgate</u>	<u>Vet.Lat.</u>	<u>Uncertain</u>	<u>Peculiar</u>	<u>Total</u>
Heb.	2		1	3	6
Iacob.	1		1	2	4
I Petr.	5		2	3	10
II Petr.				1	1
I Ioann.	3	1		4	8
Apoc.				1	1
IV Esdr.			1		1
<u>Totals</u>	<u>118</u>	<u>36</u>	<u>73</u>	<u>79</u>	<u>306</u>

Where Columban agrees with a known version of the Old Latin, his text sometimes bears a general resemblance to the "African" type; but he nowhere agrees with the oldest representative of that type, codex "k" (13), and the tradition that he brought this codex with him to Bobbio must therefore be inaccurate. Moreover, he frequently prefers the Vulgate or, less often, a version peculiar to himself. His text presents a number of similarities with that of the codex Usserianus and of the Book of Armagh, but it is not identical with these or any other. The bulk of his idiosyncrasies are probably due to slips of memory, and in certain books of the Old Testament their number may have been exaggerated by the paucity of surviving versions; none the less, they make up a remarkable percentage of the total, and the number of passages in which he appears to quote

(13) cod. Taurinensis G vii 15, probably written about the year 500; a seventeenth-century note on the fly-leaf reads "ut traditum fuit illud est idem liber quem B. Columbanus Abbas in pera secum ferre consueverat."

the Vulgate has doubtless been increased by the emendations of later scribes. His text is in fact the product of a period of transition, in which the native Irish version, already confused by the introduction of variants from other forms of the Old Latin, is gradually being superseded by the Vulgate. He takes only eight quotations from the Apocrypha, and one from the historical books of the Old Testament. His favourite books appear to be the Psalter, Isaiah, the Gospels of Matthew, Luke and John, the Epistle to the Romans, the first Epistle to the Corinthians and the first Epistle of Peter. It is remarkable that he never quotes from Mark; this Gospel occurs last in the codex Usserianus, and seems to have been little used in Ireland. Amongst the Epistles, he makes no use of second Thessalonians, Titus, Philemon, second and third John and Jude.

Columban was not a creative thinker; none of his leading ideas is original, and he states (14) that he is merely transmitting the teaching of his predecessors. He instinctively reacted against anything that appeared an innovation, and this conservatism is particularly prominent in his attitude to the Easter controversy and the Three Chapters dispute. It can be assumed that his outlook is typical of the Irish Church in the sixth century; and for this reason, as well as for its

(14) Reg. Mon. cap. VII, Reg. Coen. cap. I, Penit. A I and B (praef.); cf. Ep. III para. 2 etc.

intrinsic interest, a discussion of his theology may be of use.

He employs language reminiscent of the Quicumque vult to express his faith in the doctrine of the Trinity; "credimus... unum Deum esse in trinitate et trinitatem in unitate, unamquamque scilicet personam plenum dominum et totas tres personas unum dominum" (15). The same phrases are expanded in Sermon I (16) — "Credat itaque primum omnis qui vult salvus esse, in primum et in novissimum Deum unum ac trinum, unum substantia, trinum subsistentia; unum potentia, trinum persona; unum natura, trinum nomine; unum numine, qui est Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus, Deus unus, totus invisibilis, incomprehensibilis, ineffabilis, in quo est semper esse, quia aeternus est Deus Trinitas, cui initium non quaeras, qui finem non habet, et qui semper fuit quod est et erit..." But Columban shrinks from probing further into the mystery of the Divine Essence, and forbids any speculation beyond what God Himself has chosen to reveal (17); faith rather than philosophy is the guide to the supreme knowledge, which is to be sought "non verborum disputatione sed morum bonorum perfectione" (18). It is indeed by a merciful dispensation that God conceals Himself in part; for

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- (15) Epistle III para. 2.
 - (16) Sermon I para. 2.
 - (17) Sermon II para. 1.
 - (18) Sermon I para. 5.

our baser natures could not endure that open vision which only heaven will finally disclose (19). Yet God, transcendent in His infinity, is also omnipresent by virtue of His power (20) -- "omnia implentem et omnia circumdantem, omnia penetrantem et omnia excedentem, omnia capientem et omnia effugientem" (21) -- and provided that we are sound members, He dwells as close to us as soul to body (22). Created things thus contain within themselves a natural revelation of their Creator; "intellege, si vis scire Creatorem, creaturam" (23). The word "panentheism", coined by modern Russian theologians, best describes this doctrine of transcendent immanence; and it inevitably raises the problem of evil in an acute form. Columban maintains that evil is a merely negative quality, the deprivation of good; it is not inevitable, but its possibility is inherent in the existence of multiplicity. "Divisa namque sunt ab initio sicut lux et tenebrae utraque, id est bona et mala, postquam mala per diabolum boni depravatione esse coeperunt, sed per Deum illuminantem prius ac postea dividentem.... Bona Deus fecit cuncta quae creavit, mala vero diabolus superseminavit.... Quae sunt igitur bona? Illa scilicet quae integra sunt ac incorrupta, sicut creata, permanserunt..." (24). Human nature is viciously

(19) Sermon VIII para. 1.

(20) ib.

(21) Sermon I para. 3.

(22) ib.

(23) Sermon I para. 5.

(24) Reg. Mon. cap. VIII.

corrupted -- "O misera humanitas.... Semper enim de intimo immunditiae caeno coinquinaris, pollueris; licet cottidie lavaris, cottidie violaris. O pullatam pellem, frustra lavaris, quae natura immunda es" (25). But it is not totally depraved, for a hope of amendment is provided by the retention of free-will; "arbitrii electionem, amissa licet beatitudine, non amisit" (26). Hence, under Providence, the conquest of sin is made an opportunity for greater good; "si tollis hostem, tollis et pugnam; si tollis pugnam, tollis et coronam... et, ut inferam, si tollis libertatem, tollis dignitatem" (27). The Incarnation of "Deus noster Iesus Christus" (28) is described in terms which recall the Tome of Leo and the Creed of Chalcedon. "Christus enim Salvator noster, verus Deus, aeternus sine tempore, et verus homo absque peccato ex tempore est, qui iuxta divinitatem coaeternus est patri et iuxta humanitatem iunior est matre, qui natus in carne, nequaquam deerat caelo, manens in trinitate vixit in mundo.... Nam nos pro unitate personae, in qua complacuit plenitudinem divinitatis inhabitare corporaliter, unum Christum credimus, divinitatem eius et humanitatem..." (29). The work of Redemption is conceived in terms of substitution;

(25) Sermon VII para. 1.

(26) Sermon X para. 3.

(27) Epistle IV para. 6.

(28) Sermon XIII para. 3. Although Columban opposed the Papacy over the question of the Three Chapters, there is no trace of Nestorian heresy in his own works.

(29) Epistle V para. 13.

"Christi simus, non nostri; non enim sumus nostri, empti enim sumus pretio magno, et vere magno, quando Dominus pro servo, Rex pro ministro, Deus pro homine datur" (30). But there is no speculation on the doctrine of Atonement, and it is the quality of Christ's life as an example that is chiefly emphasized. "Haec est enim veritas evangelii, ut veri Christi crucifixi discipuli eum sequantur cum cruce" (31). For Columban, the real Atonement is that mystical union with the Saviour, for which, in the conclusion of Sermon XIII, he prays; human nature is restored to its integrity simply by the love of God (32). This teaching is in accordance with his semi-Pelagian attitude to the relation of grace and free-will. "Dominus fatuis sola fide contentis respondet, Quia non novi vos, et bene credentibus et Domine, Domine dicentibus promisit, Quod non intrabunt in regnum caelorum" (33). "Patientia ergo et diligentia et labor ac studium infatigabile, interioris hominis nobis domum mundantibus, necessaria sunt.... Non enim auditu lex sanctificat, sed facto procul dubio..." (34). He urges his hearer that "Dei gratiam suo advocet conamine" (35); but admits that "impossibile est... solum per se unumquemque adipisci quod perdidit in Adam" (36); and gives as his reason, "non enim

(30) Sermon X para. 2.

(31) Epistle IV para. 6; cf. "Christum Dominum cum timoris cruce cottidiani sequentes" (Reg. Mon. cap. IV).

(32) "Dei enim dilectio, imaginis eius renovatio" (Sermon XI para. 1).

(33) Epistle II para. 3.

(34) Sermon II para. 3.

(35) Sermon III para. 2.

(36) ib.

sufficit virtus humana, inter tantas contrariedades pervenire ad quod vult, nisi misericordia Domini et velle faciat..." (37) Though admitting the necessity of divine assistance, he stresses chiefly the need for human effort; this life he views as a battlefield, in which good works count more than empty faith; its crown is to become a sharer in Christ's Passion (38), its fruit is seen in self-martyrdom through poverty, purity, obedience and love. While discouraging extreme ascetism (39), he regards the full Christian life as possible only in a monastery (40). For those who remain in the world, he has the remedy of penance; "confessio et paenitentia de morte liberant" (41).

The Bible is for Columban the source and norm of doctrine. "Dei enim tantum de Deo, hoc est de seipso, credendum est testimonium, qui aut in Lege aut in Propheta aut in Evangelio aut in Apostolo aut in Spiritu cuique de se per se aut per angelum testimonium perhibuit. Ceterum disputatio seu ingenium humanum aut aliqua superba sapientia, quae vel mundi in ratione fallitur, de Deo magistra esse non potest, sed sacrilega et

(37) Epistle IV para. 7.

(38) Epistle IV para. 6.

(39) Reg. Mon. capp. III and VIII.

(40) This seems to be implied by the following: "Gradiendum igitur est via regia ad civitatem Dei viventis per afflictionem carnis et contritionem cordis, per corporis laborem et spiritus humiliationem, per studium nostrum..." (Epistle IV para. 6).

(41) Reg. Coen. cap. I.

impia in Deum praesumenda est" (42). It is on this ground that he repeatedly asserts the orthodoxy of the Irish Church. "Hi sunt enim nostri canones, dominica et apostolica mandata, in his fides nostra est; haec arma, scutum et gladius, haec apologia; haec nos moverunt de patria; haec et hic servare contendimus, licet tepide; in his usque ad mortem perseverare et oramus et optamus, sicut et seniores nostros facere conspeximus (43). "Nos enim sanctorum Petri et Pauli et omnium discipulorum divinum canonem spiritu sancto scribentium discipuli sumus, toti Iberi, ultimi habitatores mundi, nihil extra evangelicam et apostolicam doctrinam recipientes; nullus hereticus, nullus iudaeus, nullus schismaticus fuit; sed fides catholica, sicut a vobis primum, sanctorum videlicet apostolorum successoribus, tradita est, inconcussa tenetur" (44). Hence Columban claims that no one, not even the Pope, can possess a monopoly in the interpretation of the Faith; "unitas fidei in toto orbe unitatem fecit potestatis et praerogativae, ita ut libertas veritati ubique ab omnibus detur" (45). A consensus of Christian opinion, based on an informed study of the Scriptures, can be the only ultimate tribunal in doctrinal issues; and such a consensus, though invested with the authority of a General Council, can only interpret, and not add to, the teaching

(42) Sermon II para. 1; cf. Epistles I para. 4 and II para. 5.
 (43) Epistle II para. 6.
 (44) Epistle V para. 3.
 (45) ib. para. 12.

which the Scriptures contain. In his fifth epistle, Columban repeatedly warns the Pope against claiming "a proud supremacy in things divine"; his principle is that "non... apud nos persona sed ratio valet" (46); and he roundly declares that, should Boniface have fallen into error -- a possibility which fills the writer with repugnance -- his judges will be those, even his juniors, who have continued to maintain the orthodox, or biblical, Faith (47). This ultimate subordination of Pope to Council, and of both to Scripture, is combined with a deep and sincere reverence for the dignity of the Roman See (48), in which Columban recognizes the executive authority of a commander-in-chief (49). "Roma orbis terrarum," he says (50), "caput est ecclesiarum, salva loci dominicae resurrectionis singulari praerogativa"; and the partial exemption in favour of Jerusalem shows that his statement is not a mere piece of thoughtless flattery. Yet his conception of the Church is at bottom corporate rather than hierarchical; he believes in the value of regular synods, and upbraids the French bishops for the infrequency with which they met (51).

Preaching is for Columban a sort of sacrament -- "trinae invocationis sacramento sumus consecrati, tuba praedicationis,

(46) ib. para. 11.

(47) ib. para. 10.

(48) Epistles I para. 1, 5 and 8, III para. 2, V para. 1, 3, 9, 10, 11 and 17.

(49) Epistle V para. 7.

(50) ib. para. 11.

(51) Epistle II para. 2.

evangelii fide et aspersione sanguinis Iesu Christi" (52) -- and he urges its frequent use (53). He has surprisingly little to say of the ritual and doctrine of the Mass, but at the conclusion of the Penitential (54) there is a clear reference to the Real Presence of Christ in the consecrated Host; "tribunal enim Christi altare et corpus suum inibi cum sanguine iudicat indignos accedentes." A mystical communion with the Risen Christ is, however, the subject of his more memorable passages. "Idem est qui Panis et Fons, Filius unicus, Deus noster Christus Dominus, quem semper esurire debemus. Licet eum edamus amando, devoremus licet desiderando, adhuc eum quasi esurientes desideremus....qui licet sumitur non consumitur, licet bibitur non adimitur, quia panis noster aeternus est, et fons noster perennis est..." (55). Columban has a deep sense of the communion of all saints, venerates the martyrs' graves (56), and believes in the value of their intercession (57); and this preoccupation with the unseen world gives an ethereal beauty to his familiar conception of life as a pilgrimage to heaven. "Quid ergo es, humana vita ?" he asks (58): "Via es mortalium et non vita..." "Tota enim vita nostra quasi iter unius diei

(52) Epistle VI para. 5.

(53) Epistles V para. 5 and VI para. 6.

(54) Penitential B 30.

(55) Sermon XIII para. 2.

(56) Epp. I para. 8, III para. 3, V paras 11 and 17.

(57) Sermon I para. 5: "per sanctorum suorum merita et interventus orandus est (Deus)".

(58) Sermon V para. 1.

est" (59). "Quasi peregrini semper patriam suspiremus, semper patriam desideremus" (60). The world, he believes, is growing old, and its end is fast approaching; "Dominus appropinquat et prope iam in fine consistimus inter tempora periculosa" (61). But beyond this world, he points men with unflinching confidence to the glory of their eternal home (62) --

"De terrenis eleva
 Tui cordis oculos;
 Ama amantissimos
 Angelorum populos;
 Beata familia,
 Quae in altis habitat,
 Ubi senex non gemit,
 Neque infans vagiat,
 Ubi laudens Dominum
 Nulla vox retinetur,
 Ubi non esuritur,
 Ubi numquam sititur..."

Columban's writings were a mere by-product of the serious endeavour of his life; yet in them he displays a manifold diversity of gifts, a genius at once individual and conservative, and a love of beauty subordinate only to the love of God.

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- (59) Sermon VIII para. 1.
 (60) Sermon VIII para. 2.
 (61) Epistle V para. 7.
 (62) De Mundi Transitu lines 89-100.

9. Manuscripts and Text.

For the Epistles of Columban, the following sources have been used in the present edition.

St Gall Stiftsbibliothek 1346 s. XVII (M). Containing Epistles I-V and VII (as well as the Sermons), this manuscript was transcribed by Jodoc Metzler "ex manuscripto codice monasterii Bobbiensis litteris Hibernicis confecto." This Bobbio original, now lost, seems to have been related to, but not identical with, cod. G vii 16 of Turin. It was faulty and difficult to read in places; one particularly troublesome passage, in Ep. V para. 14, Metzler relegates to his margin, with the words "In Bob. inserebantur haec omnia absque sensu: locus corruptus, cui mederi nequeo." He introduces frequent emendations of his own, but always notes the reading of his original; and his transcript is a careful and generally reliable production.

Patrick Fleming's Collectanea Sacra, Louvain, 1667, (F) is the editio princeps of Columban's collected works. Containing the same Epistles as M, and based on a similar manuscript tradition, its text has an equal authority. Fleming visited Bobbio in 1623, and though dissatisfied with the condition and paucity of manuscripts containing the Epistles, he fortunately refrained from emendation. "Quae sequuntur" he says (p.108), "sancti Columbani epistolae...ex pervetusto sed mendoso satis

bibliothecae Bobiensis codice transumptae sunt, cuius mendas abstergere nos prohibet correctiorum exemplarium penuria."

Owing to the specially faulty condition of its text, he did not himself transcribe Epistle I; but his posthumous editor, Thomas Sheerin, found a publishable text in another manuscript

(Collectanea Sacra p.157), and this is denoted by the symbol S.

These are the only surviving sources for Epistles I-V.

The seventh Epistle appears also in the following.

Turin Bibliotheca Nazionale G v 38 s X (T) contains at fol. 126 Epistle VII (as well as the Regula Monachorum, fourteen Sermons and the Penitential, to the second part of which this Epistle is prefixed). Written in half-uncial capitals, probably by an Irish hand, its parchment has been rendered almost transparent by much use, and it is difficult to read in parts. The spelling has been corrected by a later hand.

Turin Bibliotheca Nazionale G vii 16 s. X/XI (Ti) contains Epistle VII at fol. 60 foll. (where it is placed between the Sermons and the Penitential). More accurate than the above, it is like it a "Liber sancti Columbani de Bobio", and is written in a good clear hand. It belongs to the same family of manuscripts, but presents the text in a slightly better state of preservation.

For the sixth Epistle, the following manuscripts have been collated.

Cologne, Dombibliothek 83(2) (Darmst. 2084) s.VIII-IX (I) contains the sixth epistle at fol. 201-4, under the title, "Disputatio Hieronimi de Sollemnitatibus Paschae." The entire manuscript is devoted to works of an astronomical nature; the hand is clear and good, but there are a number of errors, which are variously perpetuated by the three others -- Ri, X and Y listed below -- which are derived from it. Each paragraph of the letter is given a separate title -- "De Pascha" etc. -- but these have not been incorporated in the text of the present edition.

Bodleian Library, Bodleian MSS No. 309 s. XI (Y) -- No.8837 in the Summary Catalogue. In a collection of astronomical works this contains Epistle VI at fol. 82 verso to 84, followed by the "Epistola Paschasini...de Ratione Paschali." No author's name is given, and the "Explicit" simply reads "Disputatio de Sollemnitatibus." The script is clear and careful, a number of errors having been corrected by a later hand.

Rome, Bibliotheca Vaticana 642 s.XII (Ri) contains the Epistle at fol. 89 foll. under the title, cancelled by a later hand, "Disputatio Sancti Ieronimi De Sollemnitatibus Paschae." The text is close to that of the original Y, from which it seems to have been copied before the corrections to that manuscript were made. There are numerous contractions, but the script is reasonably clear.

British Museum, Cotton Caligula A 15 s.XII-XIII (X), a manuscript probably written in France, and chiefly devoted to works on the Paschal cycles, contains the Epistle, without

author's name, at fol. 86 verso to 90. The text is similar to that of Y and Ri, but is marred by a number of omissions and mistakes. The script shows traces of Irish influence, particularly in the "open a".

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 16361 s.XII (Pi) contains the Epistle at fol. 288 foll. in a collection of short astronomical treatises. Its text is not related to that of the four previous manuscripts, but is in some respects better, although the writing is small and crabbed, and there are numerous mistakes of spelling.

W. Gundlach has produced a critical edition of the prose and poetical epistles in Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Epistolae III (1892) pp. 154 foll. (where the text of Epistle VI is taken from Krusch's edition in Neues Archiv X). Gundlach's apparatus criticus contains a number of minor errors, and his emendations are sometimes improbable and weak. The present edition attempts to correct his inaccuracies, and to restore the manuscript text whenever possible; but there remain a few "loci desperati", chiefly in the first and fifth Epistles, where the most that can be done is to make sense with the minimum of emendation.

For the Sermons, it is unnecessary to have recourse to the printed text of Fleming, as a sufficient number of early MSS survive; the following have been used.

Turin Bibliotheca Nazionale G v 38 s. X (T) contains at fol. 90 verso to 125 Sermons I-XIII, followed by the tract "De octo vitiis principalibus". The pages containing Sermon V are particularly worn by frequent use.

Turin Bibliotheca Nazionale G vii 16 s. X/XI (Ti) contains the same collection at fol. 13 verso to 62 verso, with the addition of Epistle VII at fol. 60.

St Gall Stiftsbibliothek 1346 s. XVII (M) again contains the same collection, with the addition of Epistle VII and the spurious Sermon numbered XV by Migne.

The two Turin manuscripts are the primary source for the entire collection, and apart from a number of obvious errors in T, present an identical text. In M there are many minor additions, corrections and omissions.

A selection of two Sermons (numbers III and XI), together with the tracts "De homine misero" and "De octo vitiis principalibus", is contained in two manuscripts, now at Rome and Paris.

Rome Bibliotheca Vaticana Reg. 140 s. IX/X (R), originating from Fleury-sur-Loire, contains this selection at fol. 78-82. Traces of the Irish style appear in the writing, but it is the faulty production of an ignorant scribe. It begins "Incipit ordo lectionum officii sancti Columbani abbatis", which suggests that the works in question were selected for liturgical use.

Paris Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 17188 s. XVII (D) contains the same works at pp. 153-9, under the title "Ordo S. Columbani

abbatis de vita et actibus monachorum". A marginal note states that it was transcribed "Ex antiquo ms. Floriacensi, ab annis circiter 700 exarato". Its text is almost identical with that of R, and this is probably the ancient manuscript to which reference is made.

Sermon V is preserved separately in four further manuscripts of widely differing dates.

Paris Bibliothèque Nationale 13440 s. VIII (H) contains Sermon V at fol. 97-100, under the title "Epist. sancti....bani abbatis". The writing is Visigothic, with the Irish "open a". As the earliest surviving manuscript, this must carry great authority; apart from a few scribal errors, its text is pure and good.

Zurich Kantonsbibliothek Rh. hist. 28 s. IX (K) contains Sermon V at fol. 109 verso to 111, under the title "Epistola Sancti Columbani Abbatis". Originating from Reichenau, this manuscript belongs to the same family as G and E below. Written in a good minuscule book-hand, it presents a relatively accurate text.

St Gall Stiftsbibliothek 915 s. X (G) contains Sermon V at fol. 167-9, between the Regula Monachorum and the Regula Coenobialis. It is written in a clear round hand, with additions in a smaller one, and its text, like that of E below, is almost identical with K.

Munich Staatsbibliothek 14949 (Em. w. 6) s. XV (E) contains Sermon V at fol. 16-17, after the *Regula Monachorum*. It is written in a crabbed and difficult hand, full of contractions.

No critical edition has previously been attempted of the Sermons, apart from the edition by Otto Seebass of numbers III and XI in Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte XIV (1894) pp. 76 foll.

For the Regula Monachorum, apart from the text of Fleming, and the scattered fragments found in manuscript collections, there exist two families of manuscripts, readily distinguished by the number of chapters they contain. The first family is that of the two Turin codices, T and Ti, which contain ten chapters; the second, omitting chapters VII and X, and subdividing chapters I and VIII to make a total of fourteen, consists of the three manuscripts denoted above by the symbols K G and E.

Turin Bibliotheca Nazionale G v 38 s. X (T) contains at fol. 80 verso to 90 the ten chapters of its version of the *Regula Monachorum*.

Turin Bibliotheca Nazionale G vii 16 s. X/XI (Ti) contains the same ten chapters at fol. 2 to 13 verso.

Zurich Kantonsbibliothek Rh. hist. 28 s. IX (K) contains at fol. 47 to 53 verso the fourteen chapters of its version, in

a series of monastic Rules beginning with that of Benedict; the omission of chapter VII indicates that the underlying text of this version is later than that of T and Ti, and dates from a period when Columban's provisions for the "Cursus" had fallen out of use.

St Gall Stiftsbibliothek 915 s. X (G) contains the same fourteen chapters in an almost identical text at fol. 154-67.

Munich Staatsbibliothek 14949 (Em. w. 6) s. XV (E) contains the same version, without the chapter-titles of K and G, at fol. 8-16, between the Regula Coenobialis and Sermon V.

Fleming's Collectanea Sacra 1667 (F) contains the ten-chapter version of the Regula Monachorum, and presents alongside its main text, variant readings from two lost manuscripts; these were at Augsburg and Ochsenhausen, and are denoted, where they differ from Fleming's own text, by the symbols Aug. and Och.

Cologne Stadtarchiv 231 s. XV (C) contains at fol. e 6 verso to f 1 verso the ten-chapter version of the Regula Monachorum, with the Regula Coenobialis added in place of chapter X. Although it includes chapter VII, its omission of chapter X differentiates this manuscript from T and Ti, and its text is closely related to that of F and A listed below. Written by Arnold Losen in 1467, it is in a good, clear hand; Losen states that it is transcribed "ad codicem veteranum monasterii sancti Maximini Trevirensis".

Fragments of the *Regula Monachorum* are contained in the collections of Rules preserved by three further manuscripts.

Turin Bibliotheca Nazionale G v 7 s. IX (Tii) contains chapter IX at fol. 103 verso. A Bobbio manuscript, this is characterized by the Irish "open a", but it appears to be the work of an ignorant scribe.

Paris Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 10879 s. X/XI (P), originating from the monastery of Lyra or Lure in Normandy, contains chapters I, II, IX and VII at fol. 30, 33, 35 and 45-6. Written in a small, upright hand, with many contractions, its text is very similar to that of C.

Berlin Staatsbibliothek Meermann Collection Phillips 1747 s. XI (A), contains, in the Concordia Regularum of Benedict of Aniane, chapters I, II, VII, IX and X at fol. 29 verso to 30, 33 verso, 48 verso to 49 verso, 25 and 30 (chapter IX), and 35 verso (chapter X). Its text is similar to that of C and P above.

O. Seebass has edited the *Regula Monachorum* in Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte XV (1895) pp. 366 foll. His work is painstaking and accurate, but lacks imagination; and he has left a few passages which obviously call for emendation.

For the Regula Coenobialis, in addition to the text of Fleming, and the scattered fragments contained in manuscript collections, there exist two recensions, the shorter preserved in four manuscripts, and the longer, which has been interpolated

by Columban's successors, in one.

St Gall Stiftsbibliothek 915 s. X (G) contains the shorter recension, in fifteen chapters, at fol. 170-84, immediately after the Regula Monachorum and Sermon V. It is the earliest and best authority for the text, and it is not related to any other surviving manuscript; as argued in section 4 above, it is probable that chapters X to XV form a later addition to Columban's original Rule.

Vienna cod. lat. 1550 s. XII/XIII (Vi) contains the shorter recension at fol. 74 verso to 79 verso. Its text is closely similar to that of Vii and E, and has affinities with that of C below.

Vienna cod. lat. 3878 s. XV (Vii) contains the shorter recension at fol. 173 to 175 verso. Where, as is most frequently the case, its text agrees with that of Vi, the two are jointly represented by the symbol V.

Munich Staatsbibliothek 14949 (Em. w. 6) s. XV (E) contains the shorter recension at fol. 1-8, where it precedes the Regula Monachorum and Sermon V. Though in the two latter works it has many affinities with G, it preserves the text of the Regula Coenobialis in a form independent of that manuscript, and like V and Vi, it omits the list of chapters which G prefixes to the whole.

Cologne Stadtarchiv 231 s. XV (C) contains the longer recension, which it alone presents entire, at fol. f 2 foll.

immediately after chapter IX of the *Regula Monachorum*, and introduced by the words "Incipit penitencialis eiusdem". Its text is related to that of V and E, but has some individual peculiarities. A long extract, beginning in chapter IX, is incorporated in what is probably a seventh-century Nuns' Rule, and this appears at fol. 210-11 of the same manuscript; where its readings are of sufficient interest to be quoted, they are denoted by the symbol Co.

Fleming's Collectanea Sacra 1667 (F) contains the shorter recension, and the readings of his two lost manuscripts are denoted, as for the *Regula Monachorum*, by the symbols Aug. and Och.

Excerpts from the longer recension are contained in the manuscripts P and A, which as noted above, also contain isolated chapters of the *Regula Monachorum*.

Paris Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 10879 s. X/XI (P) contains excerpts at fol. 26 verso to 27, 63, 66 verso and 129. Its text is similar to that of C and A.

Berlin Staatsbibliothek Meermann Collection Phillips 1747 s. XI (A) contains excerpts at fol. 69 foll.

Donatus incorporated selections from Columban in his *Regula*, and where his text deserves quotation, it is denoted by the symbol Don.

O. Seebass has edited the *Regula Coenobialis*, with his customary care, in Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte XVII (1897)

pp. 215 foll. The present edition has introduced a few emendations to his text.

For the Penitential, the available sources are the two Turin manuscripts T and Ti, combined with the edition of Fleming.

Turin Bibliotheca Nazionale G v 38 s. X (T) contains the Penitential at fol. 125-30, with Epistle VII inserted at fol. 126 between parts A and B. This manuscript ends in the middle of B 19.

Turin Bibliotheca Nazionale G vii 16 s. X/XI (Ti) contains the Penitential at fol. 62 verso to 71 verso; its text is better than that of T, and is disfigured by fewer mistakes of spelling.

Fleming's Collectanea Sacra 1667 (F) contains a very similar text, in which the editor has made a number of corrections that are not always fortunate.

O. Seebass has edited the Penitential in Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte XIV (1894) pp. 430 foll.

For the Minor Prose Writings, the following sources have been used.

The tract "De homine misero" is contained only in the manuscripts R and D, listed above in the sources for the Sermons.

Rome Bibliotheca Vaticana Reg. 140 s. IX/X (R) contains this tract at fol. 78; its text is marred by a number of scribal errors.

Paris Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 17188 s. XVII (D) contains the same tract at fol. 153; its text appears to be a copy of R, in which a number of the errors have been rectified.

The tract "De octo vitiis principalibus" follows in R and D, with Sermon III interposed; it is contained also in T, Ti and M.

Turin Bibliotheca Nazionale G v 38 s X (T) contains the "De octo vitiis principalibus" at fol. 124 verso.

Turin Bibliotheca Nazionale G vii 16 s. X/XI (Ti) contains it at fol. 59.

St Gall Stiftsbibliothek 1346 s. XVII (M) contains the tract between Epistles VII and III; its text is very near to that of T and Ti, to which Metzler's lost original must have been closely related.

The tract "De Saltu Lunae" is contained in two related manuscripts, of the ninth and eleventh centuries.

St Gall Stiftsbibliothek 250 s. IX (L) contains the "De Saltu Lunae" at fol. 112-4, in a collection of chronological and astronomical works. It introduces it with the words, "Sanctus Columbanus Haec de Saltu Lunae ait", and it is written in a clear hand, slightly sloping to the left.

Munich Staatsbibliothek lat. 14569 s. XI (N) contains the same treatise, in an almost identical text, at fol. 26-8. It again appears in a collection of astronomical writings, and is entitled "Lectio S. Columbani De Saltu Lunae". N is very probably a copy of L.

The "Oratio" is contained in one manuscript alone.

Turin Bibliotheca Nazionale G v 2 s. XI (O) contains at fol. 9 what it entitles "Oratio Sancti Colubani", in a collection of short prayers.

The tracts "De homine misero" and "De octo vitiis principalibus" have been edited by O. Seebass, together with Sermons III and XI, in Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte XIV (1894) pp. 76 foll. The only printed text of the "De Saltu Lunae" is almost inaccessible; it is that of Gabriel Meyer in Jahresbericht über die Lehr- und Erziehungs-Anstalt des Benediktinerstiftes Maria-Einsiedeln (1886-7) p.30. The Oratio has been printed by O. Seebass in his article "Columba der Jüngere" in Hauck's Realencyclopädie.

For the Poems, there exist a variety of manuscripts dating from the eighth to the twelfth centuries. One, the "In Mulieres", is preserved by Fleming and Goldast alone; for the others, the quantity and quality of surviving MSS are sufficient to render a collation of their printed texts superfluous.

Fleming's Collectanea Sacra 1667 (F) contains the four lines "In Mulieres", taken from Goldast's Paraeneticorum Veterum Pars I; the original manuscript from which this poem was transcribed is now lost.

Zurich Stadtbibliothek C 78 (451) s. IX/X (Z) contains the "De Mundi Transitu" at fol. 159 to 160 verso; no author's name was originally given, but that of Columban has been added in the margin by a modern hand. Melchior Goldast, in Paraeneticorum Veterum Pars I p.153, refers to this manuscript, and to another originating from St Gall, which showed similar readings, but is now lost; his citations from this lost manuscript are denoted by the symbol Siii. No other sources are available for the poem.

Leyden Vossianus Graecus Q7 s. X (Q) alone contains the Carmen Navale, which appears at fol. 40 verso to 41, with "....banus", partly illegible, as the author's name.

The poems to Hunaldus, Sethus and Fidolius are contained together in three manuscripts, and separately in a further four.

St Gall Stiftsbibliothek 273 s. IX (Si) contains these three poems at fol. 38-49; though marred by a few careless mistakes, its text is on the whole the best available.

St Gall Stiftsbibliothek 899 s. X (Sii) contains the same three poems at fol. 109 to 114; on the later pages of this manuscript, there are frequent corrections, and the work appears to have been hurried.

Paris Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 8303 s. X (Pii) contains the same three poems at fol. 18 to 20 verso; it is a composite volume, mostly of poetry, and is described as "olim Colbertinus" by E.Dümmler in M.G.H. Poet. Lat. Med. Aevi I p.165. Its text is similar to, but not identical with, that of Sii.

The poems to Hunaldus and to Sethus, without that to Fidolius, are contained in two manuscripts at Munich and one at Vienna.

Munich Staatsbibliothek 6404 (Fris. 204) s. X (Mi) contains the poems to Hunaldus and to Sethus at fol. 50 foll.

Munich Staatsbibliothek 17208 (Scheftl. 208) s. XII (Mii) contains the same two poems at fol. 69 foll. Its text is similar to that of Mi, but like U below, it emends the name of Sethus in line 1 of his poem, in order to treat it as a continuation of that to Hunaldus.

Vienna cod. 806 (Theol. 434) s. XII (U) contains the same two poems at fol. 55 to 58 verso; their text is arranged in a somewhat confusing manner.

Finally, the poem to Fidolius is contained by itself in a manuscript of the eighth century.

Berlin cod. Diez B Sant. 66 s. VIII (B) contains the poem to Fidolius at fol. 277 foll. Though its antiquity must command respect, this manuscript is unhappily marred by frequent mistakes and mis-spellings. It omits the concluding six

hexameters (lines 160-5), which contain a reference to the author's age that has been the source of some perplexity (see section 6 above).

W.Gundlach has edited the poems, with the exception of the "In Mulieres" and the "Carmen Navale", in the Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Epistolae III (1892) pp.182 foll. As with the prose Epistles, his Apparatus Criticus contains a number of inaccuracies. The only edition of the Carmen Navale is that of E.Dümmler in Neues Archiv VI (1881) pp.190-1.

It should be added that the poems to Hunaldus and Fidolius are also contained in a composite manuscript at Turin, F iv 29 pp. 11 to 13, which in this part dates from the eighteenth century; but it has been so severely damaged that it is no longer legible.

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EPISTULAE

EPISTULA I.

1. Domino Sancto et in Christo Patri, Romanae
pulcherrimo Ecclesiae Decorì, totius Europae
flaccientis augustissimo quasi cuidam Flori,
egregio Speculatori, Theoria utpote divinae
5 Castalitatìs perito, ego, Bar-iona
(vilis Columba), in Christo mitto Salutem.

2. Gratia tibi et pax a Deo Patre nostro et
Domino nostro Iesu Christo. Libet me, o sancte
papa -- hyperbolicum tecum non sit -- interrogare de
10 Pascha, iuxta illud canticum, Interroga patrem tuum
et annuntiabit tibi, maiores tuos et dicent tibi.
Licet enim mihi, nimirum micrologo, illud cuiusdam egregium
sapientis elogium, quod dixisse fertur quandam
videns comptu pictam, "Non admiror artem, sed
15 admiror frontem," ad te clarum a me vili scribendo
potest inuri; tamen tuae evangelicae humilitatis
fiducia fretus tibi scribere praesumo et mei doloris

7-8. Galat. 1, 3. 10-1. Deut. 32, 7.

codd. M, S. tit.) epistola ad sanctum gregorium papam
super quaestione paschae et aliis praem. M
1. romano-S 4. divina-S, Gundlach 5. castulitatìs-S,
causalitatìs coniec. Gundlach; perito-Gundlach, potito-
M (emend. ex posito) & S; Bar-iona) scripsi, bargma-M,
bargoma-S 6. filius Columbae coniec. Gundlach 7. gratia)
ita emend. ex gratias S 7-8. et Domino nostro om. S
9. interrogare) scripsi, interrogandum-M, S; Ligat me, o
sancte papa, hyperbolicus metus ne non sit interrogandum
de Pascha coniec. Gundlach 13. quandam) scripsi, quondam-
M, S 14. comptu pictam) scripsi, fronte pictam-M (notans
in marg. "Bob. contupictam"), compte pictam-S (emend. ex
contupictam)

negotium iniungo. Vanitas namque scribendi nulla est, ubi necessitas cogit quamvis maioribus scribi.

3. Quid ergo dicis de Pascha vigesimae primae aut vigesimae secundae lunae, quod iam, tui tamen pace dictum sit, non esse Pascha - nimirum tenebrosum - a multis comprobatur chalcenteris ? Non latet enim, ut credo, efficaciam tuam, quantum Anatolius "mirae doctrinae vir", ut sanctus ait Hieronymus, cuius Eusebius Caesariensis episcopus in ecclesiastica excerpta inseruit historia - et sanctus Hieronymus in suo hoc idem de Pascha opus collaudavit catalogo - de hac lunae aetate vituperando disputet; qui contra Gallicanos primarios de Pascha, ut ait, errantes horrendam intulit sententiam, "Certe," inquit, "si usque ad duarum vigiliarum terminum, quod noctis medium indicat, ortus lunae tardaverit, non lux tenebras, sed lucem tenebrae superant; quod certum est in Pascha non esse possibile, ut aliqua pars tenebrarum luci dominetur, quia solemnitas dominicae resurrectionis lux est, et non est communicatio

3-4.XXI aut XXII-S 6.chalcenteris)scripsi, computariis-M(notans in marg."Bob.cacalaenteris"), calcalenteris-S 10.excepta-S 12.disputat-M 13.rimarios-S 14.horrendum-M; sententiam)dicens add. M,S; inquit del.S 16.lunae)hunc-M 18.probabile-S 19.solennitas scribit ubique M

luci cum tenebris. Et si in tertia vigilia luna
excanduerit, non est dubium, lunam vigesimam primam
vel vigesimam secundam exortam esse, in
qua verum Pascha non est possibile immolari.

- 5 Nam qui hac lunae aetate Pascha definiunt possibile
celebrari, non solum illud auctoritate divinae scripturae
affirmare non possunt, sed et sacrilegii et
contumaciae crimen et animarum periculum incurrunt,
dum affirmant, veram lucem posse immolari cum aliqua
10 dominatione tenebrarum, quae omnibus tenebris dominatur".
Nec non in sancti dogmatis legimus libro;
"Pascha id est solemnitatis dominicae resurrectionis
ante transgressum vernalis aequinoctii, decimae
quartae lunae initium non potest celebrari,"
15 ut scilicet aequinoctium non antecedit. Quod utique
Victorius in suo transgressus est cyclo et per hoc
Galliae iamdudum invexit errorem, seu, ut humiliter
dicam, confirmavit inolitum. Quippe qua ratione utraque
stare possunt, ut scilicet resurrectio Domini ante
20 suam celebretur passionem, quod vel putari absurdum

1.lucis-M 2-3.XXI vel XXII-S 4.verum)vestrum-M
7.sed et)sed etiam-M 13-4.decimae quartae)scripsi,
decimae sextae-M, XVI-S 14.lunae om.S

- est, aut septem dies Domini iussione in lege
 sanciti, in quibus tantum legitime Phase Domini
 comedi mandatum est, qui a decima quarta luna
 usque ad vigesimam numerandi sunt, contra ius
 5 fasque transcenduntur? Luna enim vigesima prima
 aut vigesima secunda extra ius lucis est, utpote
 post medium noctis tunc temporis exorta, et, tenebris
 lucem superantibus, lucis solemnitas nefas est, ut
 aiunt, agi.
- 10 4. Quare ergo tu, tam sapiens, nimirum cuius clarissima
 per orbem, ut antiquitus, sacri ingenii diffusa sunt
 flumina, Pascha tenebrosum colis? Miror, fateor,
 a te hunc Galliae errorem acsi schynthinium
 iam diu non fuisse rasum; nisi forte putem, quod vix
 15 credere possum, dum eum constat a te non fuisse
 emendatum, apud te esse probatum. Aliter tamen
 et honestius tua excusari potest peritia; dum
 forte notam subire times Hermagoricae novitatis,
 antecessorum et maxime papae Leonis auctoritate
 20 contentus es. Noli te, quaeso, in tali quaestione

1. cf. Exod. 12, 15.

1. Domini) Christi-M 3. XIV-S 4. XX-S 5. XXI-S
 6. XXII-S 12. flumina) lumina coniec. Gundlach
 13. schynthinium) scripsi, schynteneum-S, om. acsi
 schynthinium M (notans in marg. "In Bob. inseritur ac si
 scynthenium"), scismaticum coniec. Gundlach 16. apud) a-M
 17. et om. M

humilitati tantum aut gravitati credere, quae saepe
falluntur; melior forte est canis vivus in hoc
problemate leone mortuo; vivus namque sanctus
emendare potest, quae ab altero maiore emendata non
5 fuerint. Scias namque, nostris magistris et Hibernicis
antiquis philosophis et sapientissimis componendi
calculi computariis Victorium non fuisse receptum,
sed magis risu vel venia dignum quam auctoritate.
Idcirco mihi timido, magis peregrino quam sciolo,
10 precor, tuae dirige fulcrum sententiae et
mature punctum tuae placabilitatis huic
tempestati nos circumdanti compescendae transmittere
non dedigneris; quia non mihi satisfacit post tantos
quos legi auctores una istorum sententia
15 episcoporum dicentium tantum, Cum Iudaeis facere
Pascha non debemus. Dixit hoc olim et Victor
episcopus, sed nemo orientalium suum recepit commentum;
sed haec soporans spina Dagonis hoc imbibit bubum
erroris. Qualis, rogo, haec tam frivola
20 et tam impolita, nullis scilicet divinae scripturae

2-3. Eccles. 9, 4.

8. sed) et-M 9. peregrino magis-S 10. precor om. S
11. matura-M, mature-S (emend. ex matura) 14. istorum) ista-M
16. Pascha in cod. omisum add. S 18. haec) hoc-S
18-9. sed haec... erroris omittens, in marg. e cod. Bob.
add. M 19. tam om. S

fulta testimoniis sententia: Cum Iudaeis Pascha
 facere non debemus? Quid ad rem pertinet?
 numquid Iudaei reprobi Pascha facere credendi sunt
 nunc, utpote sine templo extra Ierusalem, Christo tunc
 5 figurato ab eis crucifixo? aut numquid ipsorum esse
 recte credendum est decimae quartae lunae
 Pascha, et non potius Dei ipsius instituentis Phase
 esse fatendum est, scientisque solius ad
 purum quo mysterio decima quarta luna ad transcendendum
 10 electa est? Quod forte sapientibus et tui
 similibus aliquantulum praeluceat. Qui hoc
 opponunt, licet sine auctoritate, Deo impropere,
 quare non sua praescientia antea tunc praecaverit
 Iudaeorum contumaciam, ut, si nollet nos cum eis simul
 15 Pascha facere, novem dies azymorum in lege
 praeciperet, ut vel nostrae solemnitatis initium
 finem solemnitatis eorum non excederet? Nam si
 vigesima prima aut vigesima secunda Pascha
 celebrandum, a decima quarta usque ad vigesimam
 20 secundam novem dies computabuntur, septem scilicet

2. Quod-M; pertinet emend. ex pertinent-S 6. decima quarta
 -M, XIV-S; luna-M 8-10. scientisque... est
om. M 9. XIV-S 11. Qui emend. ex quo S 14. simul om. S
 15. azymorum-S 18. XXI aut XXII-S 19. XIV-S
 19-20. XXII-S

a Deo praecepti et duo ab hominibus aucti. Quod
 si licet hominibus augere per se aliquid divinae
 censurae, interrogo, ne forte videatur contrarium
 esse illi Deuteronomii sententiae: Ecce, inquit, verbum
 5 quod tibi dico, neque adicies ad illud,
neque auferes ab eo.

5. Sed haec magis procaciter quam humiliter scribens,
 scio euripum praesumptionis difficillimae
 me invexisse, enavigandum fore ignarus.
 10 Nec loci namque nec ordinis est, ut magnae tuae
 auctoritati aliquid quasi discutiendo inrogetur
 et ridiculose te mei, nimirum Petri cathedram apostoli
 et clavicularii legitime insidentem, occidentales
 apices de Pascha sollicitent. Sed tu non
 15 tam me vilem in hac re, quam multos et defunctos
 et viventes haec eadem quae notavi firmantes magistros
 considerare debes, et quasi cum eis trahere colloquium
 te crede; pie namque me scito, licet saltuatim
 et hyperbolice chilosum os aperire. Tuum itaque aut
 20 excusa aut damna Victorium, sciens, si illum laudaveris,

4-6. Deut. 4, 2.

1. Quod) Sed-S 5. dico) do-S; neque) ne-M; adicies corr. ex
 adicias M, adicias-S 6. auferas-S 7. scribenti-M
 8. scio om. M 9. me invexisse-Gundlach, mihi nexuisse-M,
 mihi nexisse-S; forte-M(notans in marg. "Bob. fore");
 ignarus scripsi, irrogas-M, irogus-S (coniciens ignorans),
 ignotus-Gundlach 11. interrogetur-M 14. sollicitant-M;
 tu)tamen, pro tu in cod. Bob. traditum, del. M
 15. vilem)videlicet-M 17. te trahere colloquium-S

inter te et supradictum Hieronymum fidei
futurum fore negotium, qui nimirum Anatolium
laudavit huic contrarium, ita ut qui unum
secutus fuerit alterum recipere non poterit.

- 5 Tua itaque consideret vigilantia, ut in fide
duorum supradictorum auctorum sibi invicem
contrariorum probanda, nulla sit inter te et
Hieronymum in sententia promenda dissonantia,
ne nobis undique sint angustiae, ut aut tibi
10 aut illi consentiamus. Parce in hoc infirmis,
ne scandalum diversitatis ostendas. Simpliciter
enim ego tibi confiteor, quod contra sancti
Hieronymi auctoritatem veniens apud occidentis
ecclesias hereticus seu respuendus erit,
15 quicumque ille fuerit; illae enim per omnia
a/ indubitat~~em~~ in scripturis divinis accomodant
fidem. Sed haec de Pascha sufficient.

6. Ceterum de episcopis illis quid iudicas
interrogo, qui contra canones ordinantur, id est quaestu;
20 simoniacos et Gildas auctor pestes scripsit eos.

2.fore)forte-M 3.ita ut)itaque-M 6.duorum)tuorum-M;
auctorum supradictorum-S 9.nobis emend.ex vobis M
10.hoc)his-M 12.ego om. M 14.ecclesias corr.in
ecclesiam M 15.quicumque ille fuerit om. S; illae)
scripsi, illi-M, ille-S 20.giltas-S; scripsit eos)
scripsi, scripsit-M, scripsistis-S

Numquid cum illis communicandum est? Quia, quod
 gravius est, multi in hac provincia tales esse
 noscuntur. Aut de aliis, qui in diaconatu violati,
 postea ad episcoporum gradum eliguntur? Sunt enim,
 5 quorum in his novimus conscientias, et cum nostra
 parvitate id conferentes certum scire volebant, si
 sine periculo post hoc episcopi esse possint,
 id est aut post gradum solidis emptum aut post
 in diaconatu adulterium absconsum -- tamen dico cum
 10 clientelis adulterium; quod apud nostros
 magistros non minoris censetur esse facinoris.

7. Tertio interrogationis loco responde adhuc,
 quaeso, si non molestum est, quid faciendum est de
 monachis illis, qui pro Dei intuitu et vitae
 15 perfectioris desiderio accensi, contra vota venientes
 primae conversionis loca relinquunt; et invitis
 abbatibus, fervore monachorum cogente, aut laxantur
 aut ad deserta fugiunt. Vennianus auctor Gildam
 de his interrogavit, et elegantissime ille
 20 rescripsit; sed tamen discendi studio semper

4.gradum eliguntur emend.ex gradare leguntur-S
 7.episcopi esse om. S (notans "deest aliquid quod sensum
 compleat") 8.post (2) om.M 10.cleantillis-M
 16.et om. M 18.venicianus-M; giltam-S 19.illegi
 scripsi, illi-M,S 20.studioso emend.ex studio S

maior metus accrescit.

8. Humilius et purius haec omnia et multo plura
 quae epistolaris brevitatis non admittit, per praesentiam
 interroganda erant, nisi corporis infirmitas et meorum
 5 cura comperegrinorum domi me vinctum teneret cupidum
 ad te eundi, ut illam spiritualem vivi fontis
 venam vivamque undam scientiae caelitus fluentis
 ac in aeternam vitam salientis haurirem.
 Et si animum corpus sequeretur, Roma iterum sui
 10 rem sustineret contemptus, ut, quomodo docto narrante
 Hieronymo legimus, quosdam de ultimis Hyelini
 littoris finibus olim venisse Romam et,
 mirum dictu, aliud extra Romam quaesisse, ita et
 ego nunc te, non Romam, desiderans, salva sanctorum
 15 reverentia cinerum, expeterem; licet enim non me
 sapientem, sed esse sitientem fateor, hoc idem facerem
 si vacarem.

9. Legi librum tuum pastorale regimen continentem,
 stilo brevem, doctrina prolixum, mysteriis
 20 refertum; melle dulcius egenti opus esse fateor;

8. Ioann. 4, 14

2. multo plura-Gundlach, multa pulchra-M, S (emend. ex
 multo pulchra) 5. teneret cupidum) retineret-M (notans
 in marg. "In Bob. non habetur haec vox retineret")
 8. salientis) investigans add. M; haurire-S (coniciens
 possem addendum esse) 9. sui iterum-S
 11. Hyelini) scripsi, helyini-M, heulini-S 12. Romam)
 quin (emend. ex nl) add. M, in (coniciens dein) add. S
 16. facere-S 17. si vacaret-S (emend. ex sed vacare)
 19. stylo-S

- mihi idcirco sitienti tua largire per
 Christum precor opuscula, quae in Ezechielem
 miro, ut audiui, elaborasti ingenio. Legi Hieronymi
 sex in illum libros; sed nec medium exposuit. Sed
 5 si dignaris, aliqua nobis de tuis transmittre relectis
 in civitate, extrema scilicet libri
 exposita; transmittre et Cantica canticorum ab illo
 loco, in quo dicit, Ibo ad montem myrrhae et
collem thuris, usque in finem; aut aliorum
 10 aut tuis brevibus, depono, tracta sententiis;
 et ut totam exponas obscuritatem Zachariae, absconsam
 propala, ut tibi occidentalis in his gratias agat
 caecitas. Importuna postulo et magna sciscitor, quis
 nesciat? Sed et tu magna habes, quia de parvo
 15 minus et de multo plus bene scis esse foenerandum.

10. Rescribere te persuadeat caritas, exponere
 te non impediatur cartae asperitas, quia ira in
 errorem furit et honor debitus cordi est a me
 tibi dari; meum fuit provocare, interrogare, rogare;
 20 tuum sit gratis accepta non negare, foenerari

8-9. Cant. 4, 6 15. cf. Luc. 12, 48 20. cf. Matt. 10, 8

1. tua sitienti-S 1-2. per Christum om. S
 5. relectis-M, S (coniciens relectis) 6. civitatem-S
 8. dicit) mihi add. M, S; myrrhae emend. ex murrae S
 9. collem thuris) caeli-M, coeli-S (emend. in collem
 thuris) 10. brevis-S 14. habens-S 16. tua charitas
 -M 17. te om. S; ira) aera-S 18. furit) coniec.
 Gundlach, fuit-M, S 20. sit) si-M, S

petenti talentum et panem doctrinae, Christo
 praecipiente, dare. Pax tibi tuisque; meae indulge
 quod sic audacter scripsi rogo procacitati,
 beate papa, et oro ut pro me vilissimo peccatore
 5 vel semel in tuis sanctis orationibus ad communem
 dominum ores.

11. Persuperfluum puto commendare tibi
 meos, quos salvator quasi in suo nomine ambulantes
recipiendos esse decernit.

10 12. Et si, ut audivi a sancto Candido tuo, hoc
 respondere volueris, temporis antiquitate roborata
 mutari non posse, manifeste antiquus error est; sed
 semper antiquior est veritas, quae illum reprehendit.

1.cf.Luc.6,30; Matt.14,16-7 9.cf.Matt.10,40

1.talentum foenerari petenti te-S 3.scripsi om. M
 7.puto om. M; commendari-S 13.semper om. M

EPISTULA II

1. Dominis sanctis et in Christo Patribus vel
Fratribus, Episcopis, Presbyteris ceterisque sanctae
Ecclesiae Ordinibus Columba peccator Salutem in
Christo praemitto.

5 2. Gratias ago Deo meo, quod mei causa in unum tanti
congregati sunt sancti de fidei et bonorum operum
veritate tractaturi, et, ut tales decet, per exercitatos
sensus ad discretionem boni ac mali de discutiendis
iusto iudicio iudicaturi. Utinam saepius hoc ageretis;
10 et licet iuxta canones semel aut bis in anno
pro tumultuosis huius aevi dissensionibus semper
sic servare vos non vacat, vel quam celerrime, quamvis
rarius, potissimum hoc debuit vobis inesse studium,
quo negligentes quique timorem haberent et studiosi
15 ad maiorem provocarentur profectum. Ecce, inquam,
Deo gratias, quod vel pro me de Pascha discutiendo
occasio vobis sanctae effecta est synodi. Dominus
noster Iesus Christus, ille princeps pastorum,
praestet, ut ad suae ecclesiae utilitatem vestrum
20 prosit concilium; et ipse Deus, qui stare

18. I Pet. 5, 4

codd. M, F tit. ad patres synodi congregatae super
observantia verae paschae epistola-M 1-4. Dominis...
praemitto om. M 8. ad) per-M 10. aut) et-M
11. dissentionibus-F 16. paschate-F 17. synodus-F
20. consilium-F

solet in synagoga deorum, praesens inspiret corda
 suorum ad suam ex integro voluntatem sequendam ex
 virtute mandatorum, ut non de solo Paschae negotio,
 quod iam diu ventilatum ac diu varie a diversis
 5 auctoribus indicatum est, tractetis; sed etiam
 de universis necessariis observationibus canonicis,
 quae a multis, quod gravius est, corruptae sunt,
 et dum dies iudicii proprior nunc est quam tunc,
 aliquod adhuc districtius evangelicae religionis
 10 et apostolicae traditionis consilium iniretis;
 si enim evangelica mandata diligenter inquiratis,
 non miror, quod in eis aliquantulorum moribus
 contraria inveniantur.

3. Sed sufficiat significasse, unumquemque ad sui
 15 redemptoris exemplum ac veri pastoris formam fore
 informandum, qui humilitatem primum praedicans,
 septemque beatitudines primae paupertati spiritus
 iungens, in tantum docuit hominem sua sequi vestigia,
 ut ad veram octavi diei circumcisionem institiam
 20 sequendo perveniret; quia beatitudo octava martyrio

1. Ps. 81, 1 16. Matt. 11, 29 & 4, 17 17. Matt. 5, 3
 18. cf. I Pet. 2, 21 19. Matt. 5, 10

9. aliquid-F 11. evangeli (ca superscr.)-M
 12. aliquantorum-F 17. paupertati) scripsi, paupertatis-M, F

terminatur, eo quod non solum agendo iustus, sed etiam pro iustitia sustinendo martyr, regni nimirum caelestis cupidus, et cum similiter certantibus coronatur. Dum ergo sicut scriptum est,

5 Qui dicit se in Christo credere, debet et ipse ambulare, sicut et Christus ambulavit -- id est et pauper et humilis et veritatem semper cum persecutione hominum praedicans -- et iterum, Qui volunt in Christo pie vivere, persecutionem patientur, et

10 quia Fides sine operibus mortua est in semetipsa, et Dominus fatuis sola fide contentis respondet, Quia non novi vos, et bene credentibus et Domine, Domine dicentibus promisit, quod non intrabunt in regnum caelorum; et dum non possunt

15 vel sui esse discipuli vel digni se, qui non renuntiaverint omnibus quae possident, unusquisque se consideret, etsi haec fixe complevit aut sustinuit, ne alienus sit a discipulis domini nostri Iesu Christi, quia non debet degener esse filius

20 et discipulus magistro non debet contraria praedicare;

4. cf. II Tim. 2, 5 5-6. I Ioann. 2, 6 8-9. II Tim. 3, 12
 10. Iac. 2, 17 & 20 12. Matt. 7, 23 13. Matt. 7, 21
 14-6. Luc. 14, 33

3. et) aut add. M, F; cum) non-M, F (coniciens cum)
 8. hominum om. M

Qui enim non intrat per ianuam in ovile ovium,
ille fur est et latro, et qui fugit castigandi et
 resistendi vitiosis laborem, mercenarius est, non
 filius semper in ecclesia mansurus.

- 5 4. Haec idcirco breviter tetigi, ut, si volueritis
 nos inferiores vos patres docere, hanc vocem
 veri pastoris et in opere et in ore semper
 habeatis, quam suae agnoscunt oves -- non enim
audiunt vocem alienorum, sed fugiunt ab eo, cuius
 10 vocem non agnoscunt, quae, nisi actualis sit, voci
 veri non concordat pastoris. Nec poterit sermo
 efficaciter penetrare animos disciplinatorum ab ore
 prolatus mercenarii, hoc signum habens, quod ipse
 primus non audit, quod ab eo non auditur; et quod
 15 prior actibus contempsit magister, nudo non potest
 tradere verbo ad conservandi exemplum.

5. Simul igitur omnes, sive clerici sive
 monachi, istos primum canones veros ac singulares
 domini nostri Iesu Christi simpliciter compleamus
 20 et sic postea, tumore superbiae deposito, unum in

1-2. Ioann. 10, 1 2-3. cf. Ioann. 10, 13 8-9. Ioann. 10, 5

3. vitiosis resistendi-F 6. nos) quasi add. F
 7. semper om. F 11. veri) viri-F 15. magister om. M
 17. ergo-F 19. simpliciter) similiter-F

reliquis scribere curemus. Si omnes humiles
 simus et pauperes pro Christo voluntarii, qui pro
nobis pauper factus est cum dives esset, postea per
 humilitatem de terra vitiorum ac per voluntariam
 5 evangelicae admonitionis paupertatem diversis
 cupiditatibus depositis curisque mortalibus detrusis,
 velut amputatis dissensionis ac discordiae causis,
 omnes filii Dei veram pacem et integram caritatem per
 morum similitudinem et unius voluntatis aequalitatem
 10 inter se invicem habebunt. Multum namque nocuit
 nocetque ecclesiasticae paci morum diversitas et
 varietas traditionum; sed tamen si, ut dixi, venena
 superbiae et invidiae vanaeque gloriae per
 salvatoris nostri praeceptum ad exemplum dicentis,
 15 Discite a me quia mitis sum et humilis corde et
 reliqua, humilitatis verae exercitiis curare primum
 festinemus, sine ullo deinceps scandalo omnes perfecti,
 odio deleti, sicut discipuli domini nostri Iesu
 Christi nos invicem ex toto corde diligemus. Et si
 20 aliqua sit traditionum diversitas, sicut et de Paschate,

2-3. II Cor. 8, 9 15. Matt. II, 29 19. cf. Ioann. 13, 35

1. curemus om. F 7. dissensionis) diversitatis - F
 10. invicem om. M 13. vanae gloriaeque (emend. ex gloriae)
 - F 15-6. et reliqua) etc. - M

- dum non possunt humiles contendere, neque talem
consuetudinem habet ecclesia, dum cito veriora
 cognoscent, qui eodem proposito eodemque desiderio
 veritatis cognoscendae similiter quaerunt,
- 5 quid rectius sequantur, quando nemo vincitur nisi
 error et quando nullus in se, sed in Domino,
 gloriatur; quaeramus itaque simul, quaeso vos,
 o amantissimi patres ac fratres, et videamus
 qualis verior sit traditio -- vestra, an fratrum
- 10 vestrorum in Occidente. Omnes enim ecclesiae totius
 occidentis, sicut in tomo responsionis meae, quem
 vobis nunc misi, licet ante triennium scriptum,
 indicavi, non respiciunt fieri debere
 resurrectionem ante passionem, id est ante aequinoctium
- 15 Pascha, et vigesimam lunam non excedunt, ne sine
 auctoritate Veteris Testamenti sacramentum Novi
 Testamenti agent. Sed haec alias; alioquin quod
 quidem illi sentiunt de Pascha sancto papae
 per tres tomos innotui, et adhuc sancto fratri vestro
- 20 Arigio brevi libello hoc idem scribere praesumpsi.

1-2. I Cor. 11, 16

4. agnoscendae-F 5. quid) scripsi, quod-M, F
 13. respiciunt) non add. Gundlach 17. quod) quid-F
 18. de Pascha om. M; sancto) sive, coniciens sancto, F

6. Unum itaque deosco a vestra sanctitate, ut
 cum pace et caritate meam comportetis insipientiam
 ac superbam, ut aiunt quidam, scribendi praesumptionem;
 quam necessitas extorsit, non vanitas, ut ipsa
 5 probat vilitas; et quia huius diversitatis auctor
 non sum ac pro Christo salvatore, communi
 domino ac Deo nostro, in has terras peregrinus
 processerim, deprecor vos per communem dominum,
 et per eum qui iudicaturus est vivos ac mortuos,
 10 adiuro, si mereamini ab eo agnosci, qui multis dicet,
Amen dico vobis quia numquam novi vos, ut mihi liceat
 cum vestra pace et caritate in his silvis silere et
 vivere iuxta ossa nostrorum fratrum decem et septem
 defunctorum, sicut usque nunc licuit nobis inter vos
 15 vixisse duodecim annis, ut pro vobis, sicut usque
 nunc fecimus, oremus ut debemus. Capiat nos simul,
 oro, Gallia, quos capiet regnum caelorum, si boni
 simus meriti; unum enim regnum habemus promissum et
 unam spem vocationis in Christo, cum quo conregnabimus,
 20 si tamen prius hic cum eo patiamur, ut et simul

9. II Tim. 4, 1 11. Matt. 7, 23 19. cf. II Tim. 2, 12

6. sim-F 7. nostro om. F 20. et om. M

cum eo glorificemur. Ego scio, quod multis superflua
videbitur haec mea loquacitas; sed melius iudicavi
ut et vos sciretis, quae et nos hic tractamus et
cogitamus inter nos. Hi sunt enim nostri canones,
5 dominica et apostolica mandata, in his fides
nostra est; haec arma, scutum et gladius, haec
apologia; haec nos moverunt de patria; haec et hic
servare contendimus, licet tepide; in his usque ad
mortem perseverare et oramus et optamus, sicut et
10 seniores nostros facere conspeximus. Vos vero,
patres sancti, videte quid faciatis ad istos veteranos
pauperes et peregrinos senes; ut ego arbitror, melius
vobis erit illos confortare quam conturbare.

7. Ego autem ad vos ire non ausus sum, ne forte
15 contenderem praesens contra apostoli dictum dicentis,
Noli verbis contendere, et iterum, Si quis
contentiosus est, nos talem consuetudinem non
habemus neque ecclesia Dei; sed confiteor conscientiae
meae secreta, quod plus credo traditioni patriae meae
20 iuxta doctrinam et calculum octoginta

16. II Tim. 2, 14 16-8. I Cor. 11, 16

5. his om. F 6. gladium-F 8. tepide) et add. M
20. doctrinam) do.... F (notans "abrasus est hic locus in
codice")

quatuor annorum et Anatolium ab Eusebio
 ecclesiasticae historiae auctore episcopo et
 sancto catalogi scriptore Hieronymo laudatum
 Pascha celebrare, quam iuxta Victorium nuper
 5 dubie scribentem et, ubi necesse erat, nihil
 definientem, ut ipse in suo testatus prologo,
 qui post tempora domni Martini et domni
 Hieronymi et papae Damasi, per centum et tres annos
 sub Hilario scripsit. Vos vero eligite ipsi quem
 10 sequi malitis, et cui melius credatis iuxta illud
 apostoli, omnia probate, quod bonum est tenete.
 Absit ergo ut ego contra vos contendam
 congregiendum, ut gaudeant inimici nostri de nostra
 christianorum contentione, iudaei scilicet aut
 15 heretici sive pagani gentiles -- absit sane, absit;
 alioquin aliter inter nos potest convenire,
 ut aut unusquisque in quo vocatus est in eo permaneat
apud Deum, si utraque bona est traditio, aut
 cum pace et humilitate sine ulla contentione libri
 20 legantur utrique, et quae plus Veteri et Novo

11. I Thess. 5, 21 17-8. I Cor. 7, 20

7. dñi. Martini-M, d. Martini-F; et domni) et domini-M
 8. per) scripsi, post-M, F 10. malletis-F 12. ergo om. F
 16. inter supplevit M, addendum esse coniec. F
 18. Deum) dominum-F

Testamento concordant, sine ullius invidia
 serventur. Nam si ex Deo est, ut me hinc de loco
 deserti, quem pro domino meo Iesu Christo de
 trans mare expetivi, propellatis, meum erit illud
 5 propheticum dicere, Si propter me haec tempestas
est super vos, tollite me et mittite me in mare,
ut commotio haec quiescat a vobis; vestrum tamen
 prius sit, more illorum nautarum naufragum conari
 eripere visceribus pietatis et ad terram navem
 10 trahere, sicut illi, licet ethnici, fecerunt,
 scriptura narrante, Et conabantur viri redire,
inquit, ad terram et non poterant, quia mare ibat
et exurgebat magis fluctus. Postremo in calce
 dicti, licet praesumptuose, suggero ut,
 15 quia in via huius saeculi spatiosa et lata
multi ambulantes currunt ad compita arcta,
 si aliqui pauci inveniuntur, qui per angustam
portam et arctam, quae ducit ad vitam iuxta
 praeceptum Domini, gradientur, potius a vobis
 20 ad vitam transmittantur quam prohibeantur, ne forte

5-7. Ion. 1, 12 11-3. Ion. 1, 13 15-8. cf. Matt. 7, 13-4

10. ethnici-F 16. computa-F (notans "rectius compita");
 ad compita arcta om. []

et vos cum Phariseis sermo Domini sugillet
dicentis, Vae vobis, scribae et Pharisei, quia
clauditis regnum caelorum ante homines, et
Nec vos intratis, nec sinitis introeuntes intrare.

- 5 8. Sed dicet aliquis: Numquid nos non intramus
in regnum caelorum? Quare non potestis iuxta
gratiam Domini, si efficiamini sicut parvuli,
humiles scilicet et casti, simplices et innocentes
in malo, prudentes tamen in bono, placabiles et
10 iram in corde non tenentes? Sed complere haec
omnia mulieres saepe videntes et circa mundi
facultates saepius rixantes et irascentes difficillime
possunt. Idcirconostri, semel mundo renuntiantes
et causas vitiorum et fomites iurgiorum in
15 primis amputantes, facilius nudos quam divites
sermonem Domini posse complere arbitrantur. Ante
istas etenim quattuor res regnum caelorum
non intratur, sicut sanctus Hieronymus trium testis
est et quarti Basilius, qui iuxta evangelici vim
20 dicti mores exponunt infantium. Infans enim humilis

2-4. Matt. 23, 13 7. Matt. 18, 3 8-9. cf. Rom. 16, 19

14. vitiorum ac-F 14-5. imprimis-F 17. etenim) enim-M

est, non laesus meminit, non mulierem videns
 concupiscit, non aliud ore, aliud corde habet. Quae
 sicut dixi melius servabit vacans et videns quod Deus
ipse sit dominus, quam universa videns et
 5 audiens. Nullus detrahat silentii bonis; nisi
 enim tepescant, secreti melius vivunt quam publici,
 excepta austeriore adhuc vita quae maiorem habet
 mercedem; ubi enim durior pugna, ibi
 gloriosior invenitur corona. Ipsi contra non
 10 creduntur bonis secretis, ut sanctus ait Gregorius,
 qui publica mala non devitant. Inde sanctus
 Hieronymus haec sciens iussit episcopos imitari
 apostolos, monachos vero docuit sequi patres
 perfectos. Alia enim sunt et alia clericorum et
 15 monachorum documenta, ea et longe ab invicem
 separata. Unusquisque quod arripuit servet; sed
 toti evangelium et utrique, acsi unius corporis
 membra una consonantia, Christum omnium caput
 sequantur per sua propria mandata, quae sunt
 20 ab eo ostensa in caritate et pace perfecta

3-4. cf. Ps. 45, 11 18. cf. Eph. 4, 22

4. universa) diversa-F 5. Nullus) multis-M 7. habet) scripsi
 haberet-M, licet-F 9. contra) ergo-F 10. creduntur)
scripsi, credunt-M, F 15. ea om. F 20. pace et caritate-F

esse. Quae duo perfici perfecte non possunt,
 nisi a veris humilibus et ab unanims
 spiritualibus, Christi mandata complentibus,
 Domino ipso testante, Si diligitis me, mandata mea
 5 servate, hoc est mandatum meum, ut diligatis
invicem, sicut et ego dilexi vos, in hoc enim
scient omnes quia mei discipuli estis, si vos
invicem diligatis. Tunc ergo potest certa esse
 unio animorum et pax et caritas, per spiritum
 10 sanctum diffusa visceribus credentium, quando
 similiter mandata divina complere omnes desiderant;
 nam quanta sit dissimilitudinis in actualibus
 studiis mensura, tanta erit pacis et caritatis
 inter imperfectos fictura. Ut ergo in caritate
 15 non ficta nos invicem amemus, domini nostri
 Iesu Christi praecepta diligenter consideremus,
 et intellecta complere festinemus, ut per suam
 doctrinam uno impetu fervoris nimii tota ad
 caelestia festinet ecclesia. Praestet hoc nobis
 20 sua gratuita gratia, ut omnes mundum horreamus

4-5. Ioann. 14, 15
 14-5. II Cor. 6, 6

5-6. Ioann. 15, 12

6-8. Ioann. 13, 35

2. unanimis) unanimiter-F 3. spiritualibus-M
 9. unio animorum) unanimorum-M 20. horremus-F

et illum solum amemus illumque cum patre et spiritu
sancto desideremus, cui gloria in saecula saeculorum.
Amen.

9. De caetero, patres, orate pro nobis sicut et
5 nos facimus, viles licet, pro vobis, et nolite
nos a vobis alienos reputare; unius enim sumus
corporis commembra, sive Galli, sive Britanni,
sive Iberi, sive quaeque gentes. Ideo gaudeamus
omnes gentes in cognitione fidei et agnitione filii
10 Dei, et festinemus omnes occurrere in virum perfectum,
in mensuram aetatis plenitudinis Iesu Christi, in
quo nos invicem amemus, invicem laudemus, invicem
emendemus, invicem invitemus, invicem oremus,
ut cum eo regnemus invicem et exultemus. Date quaeso
15 veniam meae loquacitati ac procacitati supra vires
laboranti, patientissimi atque sanctissimi patres
quique et fratres.

9-11. Eph. 4, 13

5. vobis) nobis-F 7. cummembra-F 13. invitemus)
visitemus-F

EPISTULA III

1. Domino sancto et in Christo apostolico
Patri, N. Papae, Columba peccator in Christo
Salutem.

2. Iam diu omnes sedi apostolicae praesidentes
5 dulcissimos omnibus praesules fidelibus ac merito
apostolici honoris reverendissimos patres visitare
spiritu et consolari cupiens, nunc usque
votis pro diversis huius aevi fragoribus et
tumultuosis gentium seditionibus interiacentium,
10 acsi marina trabe interclusus, satisfacere non
potui, insuavi scilicet intransmeabilique non tam
maris visibilis quam intelligibilis dorso,
quod optime nostis, opposito. Idcirco semel et
bis satanas impedivit portitores nostrorum
15 ad beatae memoriae papam conscriptorum
Gregorium olim apicum in subiectis positorum,
qui tibi quoque offerendi discutiendique a nostra
transmittuntur vilitate non tam superba, ut per verba
demonstratur, diabolica praesumptione, quam nostrae
20 regionis ritus observantiaeque

codd. M, F

2. N om. F 4. sedis-M 7. consolare-F 12. maris)thetis
(emend. ex tūthis)-F 14. sathanas-F 15. bea. memor. -M,
bonae memoriae-F 20. observantiaeque)scripsi, observantia
quae non carent-M, observantiae(coniciens observantia)
quae calcarent-F

verae computationis necessaria probatione, dum
 non eosdem terminos scandunt libri nostrae
 provinciae et istorum liber Gallorum, qui a nostris
 viris non recipitur per duo loca magistri, sicut in
 5 epistolis nostrae parvitatis, quantum potuimus, ad
 supradictum beatum papam, licet praesumptuose,
 indicare pro viribus studuimus. Itaque ne, si
 eadem iterarem ad te quoque scribendo, fastidium
 potius generarem, quam ingenium probarem utrorumque
 10 auctorum tibi, ut decet reserare; cum salutationum
 condignis officiis preces tantum ad te per dominum
 nostrum Iesum Christum et spiritum sanctum et per
 unitatem fidei nostrae, quae invicem est, qua unum
patrem nostrum qui est in caelis, ex quo omnia
 15 et unum redemptorem nostrum, filium Dei, per quem
omnia, et unum spiritum sanctum, in quo omnia,
 corde credimus et ore confitemur unum Deum esse
 in trinitate et trinitatem in unitate, unamquamque
 scilicet personam plenum dominum et totas
 20 tres personas unum dominum, fundimus, ut nobis

14. cf. Matt. 6, 9 14-6. cf. Rom. 11, 36

2. eosdem corr. ex eodem M 4. magistri) scripsi, magistris-
 M, F 6. praesumptuose) praesumptione-M 9. probarem) scripsi
 probare-M, F 10. reserare) scripsi, reservarem-M, F
 14. nostrum om. M 17. Deum) dominum-F 19. scilicet)
 sanctam-M; totam-M

peregrinis laborantibus tuae pium sententiae
solatium praestes, quo si non contra fidem
est nostrorum traditionem robores seniorum, quo
ritum Paschae sicut accepimus a maioribus observare
5 per tuum possimus iudicium in nostra
peregrinatione. Constat enim nos in nostra esse
patria, dum nullas istorum suscipimus regulas
Gallorum, sed in desertis sedentes, nulli molesti,
cum nostrorum regulis manemus seniorum, pro quibus
10 defendendis sive ad vos, ut dixi, apostolicos patres,
sive ad istos nostros vicinos fratres, nostros
in Christo patres, scripsimus iatas quas haec
cartula tibi commendat epistulas, ut quia, dum meritis
satisfacere non potuimus, utpote tumultuantibus
15 potius quam ratiocinantibus, vestrae mature
punctum auctoritatis postulamus, cum iudicio inter
istos possimus vivere cum ecclesiasticae pace
unitatis, sicut sancti patres, Polycarpus scilicet
et papa Anicetus, sine scandalo fidei, immo
20 cum integra caritate perseverantes -- unusquisque

1. pium) scripsi, pius-M, piaae-F 2. praestes solatium-F
11. nostros) et-M 15. mature) scripsi, maturo-M, maturae-F
(emend. ex mata vel mota) 17. istos) iustos-F
18. scilicet) s.-M 19. immo om. M 20. perseverantes)
separantes-F

quod accepit servans et in quo vocatus est
permanens -- docuerunt.

3. Vale, dulcissime in Christo papa, memor nostri
 in sanctis orationibus iuxta sanctorum cineres
 5 et in piissimis sanctionibus iuxta Constantinopolitanae
 synodi centum quinquaginta auctores, ecclesias
 Dei in barbaris gentibus constitutas suis vivere
 legibus, sicut edoctas a patribus, iudicantes.

1-2. cf. I Cor. 7, 20.

1. accepit) ita emend. ex. accipit F 3. nostri) et add. M
 4. sanctorum) ss. -M

EPISTULA IV

1. Dulcissimis suis Filiis discentibusque carissimis,
Fratribus frugalibus, cunctis simul Monachis suis
Columba Peccator in Christo Salutem mittit.

2. Pax vobis, sicut Dominus optans dixit discipulis
5 suis, sit et salus et sempiterna caritas. Haec tria tribuat
vobis trinitas cum eo et inter vos custodiat
cum voto meo. Studii mei magnitudinem erga salutis
vestrae intuitum solus novit qui dedit; et desiderium meum
erga doctrinae vestrae profectum; sed quia iuxta
10 sermonem Domini orta est tribulatio, et persecutio
propter verbum, nulla nunc alia admonitio vobis
congruit, nisi ut caveatis ne sitis terra illa
petrosa, quae semina non potest sui tenuitate
cespitis accepta nutrire, ne et de vobis dicat
15 Dominus, Orta autem tribulatione et persecutione
propter verbum continuo scandalizantur. Nos ipsi
scimus quod cum gaudio et fervore suscipimus
verbum Domini; caveamus nunc ne simus temporales.
Patientia nobis necessaria est, ut probatio fidei
20 nostrae, sicut scriptum est, sit pretiosior auro.

4. Ioann. 20, 19 10-1 & 15-6. Matt. 13, 21 12-3. Matt. 13, 5
18. Matt. 13, 21 19. Heb. 10, 36 19-20. I Pet. 1, 7

codd. M, F tit. epistola consolatoria sancti columbani
ad suos monachos, a quibus ipsum separavit furor
theodorici et brunichildis-M 6. cum eo om. M
17. suscipimus emend. in suscepimus F

Scitote quod circa caduca contentio est;
circa regnum caelorum enim non est novum,
quod pugna sit et contentio. Neque speretis
quod homines per se vos persequantur; daemones sunt
5 in his qui invident bonis vestris; contra quos
arma Dei arripite, quae demonstrat apostolus, et
viam facite in caelum, iaculatis illis orationum
ferventium ac si quibusdam sagittis. Quidquid
enim cum fide et unanimitate oraveritis, dabitur
10 vobis; sed videte, ut unum cor et anima una sitis,
ut mercede praesenti accipiatis quidquid salutiferum
petieritis a patre domini nostri Iesu Christi
nostroque communi omnium patre iuxta promissum
Domini nostri dicentis, Si convenerint duo ex vobis
15 super terram de omni re, quamcumque petierint, fiet
eis a patre meo qui in caelis est. Alioquin si
non unum velle et unum nolle habetis, melius est
ut non simul habitetis. Ideo mando ego vobis ut omnes,
qui mihi ex corde volunt consentire et sensum
20 agnoscunt meum et amant, sint cum vero sequace meo

2. cf. Matt. 11, 12 6. cf. Eph. 6, 13-7 10. Act. 4, 32
14-6. Matt. 18, 19

1. quod) non coniec. F ; est) et-M 2. enim-Gundlach, est-M, F
3. quod) ut coniec. F ; contentio) circa regnum add. M, F
7. iaculatis) scripsi, iugulatis-M, F
9. unanimitate) unitate-M 10. sitis) scitis-F

- Attala, qui aut sit ibi aut post me velit
venire, suae sit electionis; suo enim sensui
animarum vestrarum periculum; vos illi
obedite. Sed si ille venire voluerit, Waldelenus
5 sit praepositus, quia cito, Deo auxiliante, poterit
intellegere certum; sed interim cavete, ne sit inter
vos qui unum votum non habet inter vos,
quicumque ille fuerit; plus enim nobis
nocuerunt, qui apud nos unanimes non fuerunt.
10 3. Tu scis, amantissime Attala, qui sensui tuo
onerosi sint; depone eos continuo; tamen
cum pace deponas et cum regulae unitate; tantum
vibratum honora et semper tene Waldelenum;
si illic sit cum congregatione, bene illi
15 Deus faciat, humilis fiat, et meum illi da osculum,
quod tunc festinans non habuit. Tu vero indolis
imbuendae scis diu votum meum; si videris illic
profectum animarum, sta ibi; si videris pericula,
veni inde; pericula autem dico discordiae pericula;
20 timeo enim, ne et illic propter Pascha sit discordia,

1. aut...aut) an...an coniec. F 3. periculum) notum est add.
Gundlach 4. Waldelenus) scripsi, valdolenus-F, waldolenus-
M 7. non om. F; habeat-F 11. eos om. F; tamen) tantum-F
13. tene waldolenum-M, valdelenum tene-F 14. si) sic-M;
sit) sis-M, F(emend. in sit) 16. quod) ita emend. ex quem F

ne forte, diabolo insidiante, vos alienare velint,
 si cum eis pacem non teneatis; infirmius enim
 nunc sine me ibi stare videmini. Idcirco cauti
 estote, considerantes tempus, quo sanam non sustinent
 5 doctrinam. Vos ipsos docete et qui velint audire;
 tantum inter vos non sit, qui unum non sit. Paci
 enim maxime provide, sollicitus semper servare
unitatem spiritus in vinculo pacis. Quid enim
 prodest habere corpus et non habere cor? Fractus
 10 sum, fateor, hac causa, dum volui totos adiuvere,
 qui cum loquebar illis, impugnabant me gratis, et
 dum omnibus credidi, pene factus sum stultus. Ideo
 tu prudentior esto; nolo subeas tantum onus, sub
 quo ego sudavi; scis iam guttulae meae scientiae
 15 parvitatem, didicisti non omnia omnibus convenire
 monita, quia mores diversi sunt et qualitates
 hominum longe distant inter se. Sed quid facio?
 iam te ad laborem illum immensum provocabo, quod ego
 fugio ipse; si aperuero doctrinae diversitatem,
 20 temperabo; ergo diversus esto et multiplex ad

4-5. II Tim. 4, 3 7-8. Eph. 4, 3 11. Ps. 119, 7

3. ibi om. M 14. guttulae) seu add. M, F

curam eorum, qui tibi obedierint cum fide et amore;
sed tu et ipsum eorum time amorem, quia tibi
periculosus erit.

4. Sed angustiae undique sunt, carissime;
5 periculum, si oderint, periculum, si amaverint.
Scito utraque vera esse, inde vel odire vel
amare; in odio pax, in amore integritas perit.
Tene igitur te ad unius desiderii impetum, quod
meum scis cor desiderare. Scis me amare multorum
10 salutem et secretum mihi metipsi, unum pro profectu
Domini, id est ecclesiae eius, alterum pro ipsius
desiderio; sed haec vota sunt potius in me quam
acta; in te vero sint perfecta, oro, quia me absente
utraque potes vel ex parte cognoscere; non iubens
15 tamen scribo. Scito igitur meum ad totos iussum;
et quia diversa sensi multorum vota ad
firmitatem regulae retinendam, ad radicem ramos
ligavi, qui sui fragilitate a mea parva declinaverunt
firmitate, id est a doctrinae recesserunt veritate.
20 Qui enim sensum meum servaverint, sic Deo serviant,

4. undeque-M 6. odire) amari-M 8. quod) quo-F 16. et) ut-F
18. declinaverunt) ita emend. ex declinaverint F

eligentes semper sibi sapientiores et religiosiores,
 si tamen humiles sint et misericordes. Quicumque
 sunt rebelles, foras exeant; quicumque sunt
 obedientes, ipsi fiant heredes. Haec tu observa et
 5 quicumque mei sunt ex integro; et propter
 unitatem et humilitatem, quamvis multi,
 Christo vos dilatante et multiplicante, sitis, ad
 eum, qui iuxta altare, quod sanctus Aidus episcopus
 benedixit, Deo servierit, omnes aspiciant. Idcirco
 10 et tu, si me istorum persecutio

5. Haec scripsi propter incertos exitus rerum.
 Mei voti fuit, gentes visitare, et evangelium eis a
 nobis praedicari, sed Fedolio referente eorum
 teporem pene meum tulit inde animum.

15 6. Lacrimosam tibi volui scribere epistolam; sed
 quia scio cor tuum, idcirco necessariis tantum
 allegatis, duris et ipsis arduisque, altero stilo
 usus sum, malens obturare quam provocare lacrimas.
 Foris itaque actus est sermo mitis, intus inclusus
 20 est dolor. En promuntur lacrimae, sed melius

3. sunt...sunt)sint...sint-F 5.et)etiam-M 6.quamvis)
 quanquam-M 9-10.Idcirco...persecutio om. M; coniciens
add. ad vos denuo redire prohibuerit, me sequi poteris-F,
 de medio sustulerit, omnibus prospice-Gundlach
 13.Fedolio scripsi, fee.modo-M, fel.modo-F
 20.promunt-F(coniciens promanant)

est obturare fontem; non enim fortis militis
 est, in bello plorare. Non est hoc novum, quod
 nobis contigit; hoc maxime cottidie praedicebamus.
 Quidam philosophus olim sapientior ceteris
 5 eo, quod contra omnium opinionem unum Deum esse
 dixerit, in carcerem trusus est. Evangelia plena
 sunt de hac causa et inde sunt maxime conscripta;
 haec est enim veritas evangelii, ut veri
 Christi crucifixi discipuli eum sequantur cum
 10 cruce. Grande exemplum ostensum est, grande
 sacramentum declaratum est; Dei filius voluntarius
 (oblatus est enim quia ipse voluit) crucem
 ascendit ut reus, relinquens nobis, ut scriptum
 est, exemplum, ut sequamur vestigia eius. Beatus
 15 igitur est, qui huius passionis et huius
 confusionis fit particeps. Inest enim ibi
 aliquid admirabile celatum; quod enim stultum Dei
est sapientius est hominibus, et quod infirmum
Dei est fortius hominibus est. Mirum in modum
 20 cernitur in stultitia sapientia innumerabilis et

12. Isai. 53, 7 13-4. cf. I Pet. 2, 21 17-9. I Cor. 1, 25

1. est om. M 3. praedicabamus-M 8. veri) vere-F
 15. huius) istius-F 16. ibi om. F 18. sapientius est) om.
 est F

in infirmitate fortitudo incomparabilis. Ergo
 ibi absconsa sunt omnia desiderabilia refrigeria,
 salutis mysteria; sed dura sunt, ut pretiosa sint;
 obscura sunt ut paucis sint digna; paucis vero
 5 digna, quia nimis mira sunt. Itaque patienter
 sustineamus omnia adversa pro veritate, ut
 simus participes Domini passionum; si enim
compatiamur, conregnabimus. Quid his adiciendum
 est nisi perseverantia? Qui enim perseveraverit
 10 usque in finem, hic salvus erit. In fine enim iudicium
 consistit et in exitu laus canitur. Sed ut sit
 perseverans, oret iugiter quisque auxilium Dei
 cum omni mentis humilitate; non enim, inquit,
volentis neque currentis, sed Dei miserentis
 15 est, quia maior et melior est Dei misericordia
super vitam, quamquam bonam hominis;
 non enim digni sunt misericordia, nisi qui se
 miseros confitentur coram Deo et indignos se sentiunt
 salutis per se, nisi sola Domini misericordia
 20 de tantis periculis eripiantur. Qui licet bonorum

7-8. cf. II Tim. 2, 12 & Rom. 8, 17 9-10. Matt. 10, 22
 13-5. Rom. 9, 16 15-6. Ps. 62, 4

2. sunt om. M 6. sustinemus-M 14. miserantis-F
 16. vita-F; quamvis bona-F 19. salute-F

conscii sibi sint operum, tamen iudicia Dei timentes
 et multa perpetrasse iniusta gementes in Dei solius
 pietatem humiliter confidunt; quorum timor perfectus
 plus placet, quo plus humilitati studet; beneplacitum
 5 enim Domino super timentes eum et in eis qui sperant
super misericordia eius. Nullum itaque salvabit
 dextera sua (iuxta verbum Domini ad Iob quo
 iustificationem illius quibusdam potentiae
 experimentis quodammodo derisit dicens, Et tunc
 10 confitebor, quod salvare te poterit dextera tua)
 nisi qui humiliter suam possibilitatem, et ipsam
 datam, exercuerit cum timore et tremore in voluntate
 Dei orans frequenter, Ne proicias me a facie tua, et,
Ne repellas me a mandatis tuis, quia saepe ut ait
 15 quidam, magnitudo virtutis quibusdam fuit occasio
 perditionis, qui nimirum eo quo pulchriores
 sunt virtutibus, ab humilitatis gradu descendunt.
 Inde scriptum est, quo pulchrior es, descende,
surge et dormi cum incircumcisis, acsi aliis verbis
 20 animae diceret superbae, quia tua sanctitate te

4-6. Ps. 146, 11 10. Iob 40, 9 13. Ps. 50, 13 14. Ps. 118, 10
 18-9. Ezech. 32, 19

1. dei iudicia-F 8. potentiae)patientiae-M 16. eo)ex-M, F

elevasti in superbiam, descende inde modo et esto
inter peccatores computanda, quia nihil apud me
est quod cum superbia efficitur. Angusta,
vides, porta est et paucis degressa perfectionis
5 via, quae a laeva vitia, a dextera vanitatis et
superbiae mala declinat. Gradiendum igitur est
via regia ad civitatem Dei viventis per afflictionem
carnis et contritionem cordis, per corporis laborem
et spiritus humiliationem, per studium nostrum,
10 officii rem legitimi, non meriti dignitatem et,
quod his maius est, per Christi gratiam,
fidem, spem et caritatem. Multa cerne pericula;
cognosce causam belli, gloriae magnitudinem; fortem
non nescias hostem, et libertatem in medio arbitrii;
15 portam intellige hostibus apertam ab aquilone;
ideo et Ierusalem ab aquilone aperitur
inde illa parte observat in aquilone inimicus habitans,
inde scriptum est, ab aquilone exardescunt mala super
omnem terram. Si tollis hostem, tollis et pugnam;
20 si tollis pugnam, tollis et coronam -- si haec sint

3-4. Matt. 7, 13 18-9. cf. Ierem. 1, 14

3. est om. M 10. rem) nimirum-M 11. his) hic-M; maius)
magis-M 14. arbitrii-M 16. aperietur-M 20. sint) et add. M

ubi fuerint, virtus, vigilantia, fervor, patientia, fidelitas, sapientia, stabilitas, prudentia sint necesse est, si non, strages -- et, ut inferam, si tollis libertatem, tollis dignitatem.

5 7. Ecce quibus circumdamur adversitatibus et quibus circumluimur acsi vorticum fragoribus, carissime discens, exceptis quae intrinsecus latent et intra nosmetipsos cottidie militant contra nos. Ideo in tantis periculis velle et currere, licet
10 tuum, non est tuum; non enim sufficit virtus humana, inter tantas contrarietates pervenire ad quod vult, nisi misericordia Domini et velle faciat -- vota gradientis compleri et currere, et, prosperitatis lapsus et offendicula
15 casusque contrarios evadente, cursus inoffense finiri. Quapropter mentis humilitas meriti est causa, sine auxilio enim non potest adiuvari; non meretur superbus; induratur derelictus; ingratus, non orans, indevotus est. Servus piger flagellatur
20 in vita, contemnitur famulatio; desperatus, etiam

5. diversitatibus-F 6. vortigum-F (notans "al. vorticum")
9-10. licet tuum non est, est tuum coniec. Gundlach
11. virtus) infirmitas-F 13. gradientis) gaudentis-F
14. currere et) et om. F; prosperitatis) scripsi,
prosperitate-M, F 17. potes-M

fastidio dignus viris esse maxime
 reputatur. Quid ergo dicimus ad haec,
 o nos miseri, qui, antequam malis carere mereamur,
 bonis nobis blandimur et ante vitiorum depositionem
 5 perfectionem habere speramus. Totum scire cupimus;
 totum facere quod scimus piget, sperantes dicta
 pro factis rependere posse. Forsan hoc hic; nam
 illic non posse manifestum est ante Deum, quia
 ibi non qui dixerit, sed qui fecerit salvus erit.

10 8. Nunc mihi scribenti nuntius supervenit, narrans
 mihi navem parari, qua invitus vehar in meam
 regionem; sed si fugiero, nullus vetat custos; nam
 hoc videntur velle, ut ego fugiam. Si in mare
 proiciar more Ionae, qui et ipse in hebraeo columba
 15 dicitur, orate, ut vice ceti sit quidam felici
 revocans remigio, tutus celator, qui Ionam
 vestrum terrae reddat optatae.

9. Sed iam nunc finem epistula pergamena
 sumere cogitur, licet materiae magnitudine protendi
 20 longius compellatur; amor non tenet ordinem,

9. cf. Matt. 7, 21

1. dignis-M; maxime) scripsi, om. M, "posui minime loco
 alicuius vocabuli similis ita mendose exarati ut legi
 aut intelligi facile nequeat"-F 2. reputatur)nuncupatur-M;
 dicimus)dicemus-F 3. meremur-F(emend. ex mereremur)
 8. Deum)dominum-F 15. quidam)quidam-F 16. celator)
 zelator-M 18. pergamena-Gundlach, pergamenae-M,
 pergaminae-F(coniciens pergamenae) 20. compellitur-F
 (notans "al. compellatur")

inde missa confusa est. Totum dicere volui in brevi,
 totum non potui. Quae volui scribere, nolui pro
 diversitate voluntatum. Voluntas mea forte
 lenocinio non caret, fiat voluntas Dei per omnia;
 5 ille si voluerit, votum scit meum. Vos videte
 conscientias vestras, si puriores et sanctiores
 sunt me absente; nolite me quaerere per amorem, sed
 per necessitatem tantum. Non sitis occasione hac
 destitutiores, neque hac separatione libertatem quaeratis,
 10 quae vos in servitutem vitiorum redigat. Meus est,
 qui amat unitatem; non est meus, qui separat; Qui
enim non congregat, ait Dominus, mecum, dispergit.
 Alioquin si videatis perfectionem a vobis plus
 elongari quam ante, et me sors a vobis separaverit,
 15 et non sufficiat Attala ad gubernationem vestram;
 quia fratres vestri hic in vicinia Britonum
 sunt, vos totos insimul adunate in una parte,
 quae melior sit, quo facilius contra vitia et insidias
 diaboli dimicetis; et quem toti elegeritis, interim
 20 vobis praesit, quia, si mihi liberum sit, Deo volente,

11-2. Luc. 11, 23

12. mecum-Gundlach, meus-M, F (notans "al. mecum")

13. plus om. M 16. hic om. M; brittonum-F

pertinebit mihi de vobis. Si vero vobis placent
loca et Deus illic vobiscum aedificat, crescite
ibi cum benedictione in mille millia; orate
pro me, viscera mea, ut Deo vivam.

2-3. Gen. 24, 60

3. cum om. F

EPISTULA V

1. Pulcherrimo omnium totius Europae Ecclesiarum
 Capiti, Papae praedulci, praeclaro Praesuli,
 Pastorum Pastori, reverendissimo Speculatori;
 humillimus celsissimo, minimus maximo, agrestis
 5 urbano, micrologus eloquentissimo, extremus
 primo, peregrinus indigenae, pauperculus praepotenti,
 -- mirum dictu, nova res, rara avis - scribere audeat
 Bonifatio Patri Palumbus.

2. Quis poterit glabrum audire? Quis non
 10 statim dicat; quis est iste garrulus praesumptuosus,
 qui non rogatus talia scribere audeat? Quis talionis
 incentor non confestim in illud antiquum
 probrosum erumpat elogium, quo Moysi Hebraeus ille,
 qui faciebat iniuriam fratri suo, respondit; quis
 15 te constituit principem aut iudicem super nos? Qui
 ego prior respondeo, non esse praesumptionem, ubi
 constat esse necessitatem ad ecclesiae aedificationem;
 et si in persona cavillatur, non quis dico,
 sed quid dico, consideret. Quid enim tacebit
 20 peregrinus Christianus, quod iam diu declamat vicinus

14-5. Exod. 2, 14

codd. M, F tit. epistola ad bonifacium papam-M
 1. Ecclesiarum om. M 9. glabrum) scripsi, glaber-M, F,
 "glabrum velim"-Gundlach 12. inventor-M 18. cavillor-M
 19. dico om. M

Arianus? Meliora namque sunt vulnera amici,
quam fraudulenta oscula inimici. Alii detrahunt
 laeti in secreto; ego tristis ac dolens arguam
 in publico, sed schismatis noxii mala, non impiorum
 5 pacificorum bona. Non igitur pro vanitate aut
 procacitate scribere vilissimae qualitatis homunculus
 tam praecelsis viris praesumo; dolor enim potius me,
 quam elatio compellit vobis indicare humillima, ut
 decet, suggestionem, quod nomen Dei per vos contententes
 10 utrimque blasphematur inter gentes.

3. Doleo enim, fateor, de infamia cathedrae sancti
 Petri; scio tamen super me esse negotium, et quod
 prima fronte sub prunas, ut dicitur, faciem ponam.
 Sed quid mihi facies coram hominibus, ubi zelus
 15 fidei prodi necesse est? Coram Deo et angelis non
 confundar; laus est pro Deo coram hominibus confundi.
 Si exaudiar, commune lucrum erit; si despiciar, mea
 merces erit. Ego enim ut amicus, ut discipulus, ut
 pedisequus vester, non ut alienus loquar; ideo libere
 20 eloquar nostris utpote magistris ac spiritualis navis

1-2. Prov. 27, 6

1. arrianus-F

4. impiorum om. M

gubernatoribus ac mysticis proretis dicens,
 Vigilate, quia mare procellosum est et flabris
 exasperatur feralibus, quia non una sola minax unda,
 quae, etiam per mutum pontum, semper cautis
 5 spumosis concavae vorticibus hyperbolice,
 licet de longe turgescens, extollitur, et ante se
 carbasa sulcatis Orco molibus trudit,
 sed tempestas totius elementi, nimirum undique
 consurgentis et undique commoti, mysticae navis
 10 naufragium intentat; ideo audeo timidus nauta
 clamare, Vigilate, quia aqua iam intravit in
 ecclesiae navem, et navis periclitatur. Nos enim
 sanctorum Petri et Pauli et omnium discipulorum
 divinum canonem spiritu sancto scribentium discipuli
 15 sumus, toti Iberi, ultimi habitatores mundi,
 nihil extra evangelicam et apostolicam doctrinam
 recipientes; nullus hereticus, nullus iudaicus,
 nullus schismaticus fuit; sed fides catholica, sicut
 a vobis primum, sanctorum videlicet apostolorum
 20 sucesoribus, tradita est, inconcussa tenetur.

2. flagris-F 3. una) scripsi, a-M, F 4. mutum) scripsi,
 motum-M, mota-F 5. concavat coniec. Gundlach;
 hyperbolicae-M 7. carbasa) calabra-F; Orco-Gundlach,
 octo-M, F; millibus-F 10. audeo) addo-F 15. Iberi) heberi-F
 19. videlicet) scilicet-F

Qua fiducia roboratus ausus sum, acsi stimulatus,
 suscitare vos contra eos, qui blasphemant vos
 et hereticorum receptores clamant ac schismaticos
 vocant, ut gloriatio mea, qua pro vobis fidus illis
 5 respondens locutus sum, non sit inanis, et illi
 confundantur, non nos. Ego enim pro vobis promisi,
 quod nullum hereticum Romana ecclesia defendat
 contra catholicam fidem, sicut discipulos ita decet
 sentire de magistro. Idcirco libenti animo et piis
 10 auribus necessariae insinuationem praesumptionis meae
 suscipite;
 quidquid enim dixero aut utile aut orthodoxum, vobis
 reputabitur; laus enim magistri in discipulorum suorum
 doctrina est; ideo si sapienter locutus fuerit filius,
 laetificabitur pater; et vestra laus erit, quia a
 15 vobis, ut dixi, processit; non enim rivo puritas,
 sed fonti reputanda est. Si vero aliqua tamquam zeli
 modum excedentis verba aut in hac aut in altera
 contra Agrippinum qui me movit ad scribendum,
 epistola inveneritis incondita, meae indiscretioni,
 20 non elationi, deputetis.

4-5. cf. I Cor. 9, 15

2. blasphemant tuos - F (coniciens vos)
 18. Agrippinum) scripsi, Agripp. - M, F

7. ecclesia romana - F

4. Vigilate itaque pro ecclesiae pace, subvenite ovibus vestris iam tamquam luporum terroribus pavidis, quae vos ipsos insuper nimio utpote pavore in alternantem circumactae convertibulum timent.
- 5 Ideo dubitantes, partim venientes, partim vero recedentes, sicut veniunt, sic revertuntur et semper in pavore sunt. Quamobrem utere veri, o papa, pastoris sibilis notaque voce et sta inter illas et lupos, ut deposito pavore, tunc primum te ex
- 10 integro cognoscant pastorem. Populus enim quem video, dum multos sustinet hereticos, zelosus est et cito tamquam grex pavidus turbatur et inde non cito securus est, quia tantos Italia lupos habuit, quorum catuli vix toti possunt elidi, dum nimirum inter
- 15 antra tanti enutriti sunt. Attamen deleat Deus tale semen, et nutriat greges suos teque compungat; vigilanter insistas officio tuo pastoralis, stans super custodiam tuam die ac nocte, ut videas baculum illum nuceum, quem uncinum
- 20 postea videre merearis tempore fructus colligendi veros.

15-6. cf. I Reg. 24, 22 18. cf. Isai. 21, 8 19. cf. Ierem. 1. 11

14. possunt toti-F 15. nutriti-F ; Attamen) antra-F
 16. greges suos-Gundlach, grege suo-M, F(coniciens greges suos) 19. uncinum) unicum-M

Ut ergo honore apostolico non careas, conserva fidem apostolicam, confirma testimonio, roboras scripto, muni synodo, ut nullus tibi iure resistat. Noli despiciere consiliolum alienigenae, tamquam doctor
 5 illius zelantis pro te. Mundus iam declinat; princeps pastorum appropinquat; cave ne te negligentem inveniat et conservos pugnis mali exempli percutientem manducantemque cum ebriis et bibentem, ne contingant sequentia securitati;
 10 qui enim ignorat, ignorabitur. Non sufficit tibi, quod pro te ipso sollicitus sis, qui multorum curam suscepisti; cui enim plus creditur, plus ab eo exigitur.

5. Vigila itaque, quaeso, papa, vigila, et iterum
 15 dico, vigila; quia forte non bene vigilavit Vigilus, quem caput scandali isti clamant, qui vobis culpam iniciunt. Vigila primo pro fide, deinde pro operibus fidei iubendis vitiisque calcandis, quia tua vigilantia multorum erit salus, sicut e contrario
 20 tua securitas multorum erit vastatio. Mittat te

7-9. Matt. 24, 49 10. I Cor. 14, 38 12-3. cf. Luc. 12, 48

6. pastor-M 8. ebriis) scripsi, haebraeis-M, hebraeis-F
 9. contingat-F (coniciens contingant)

- Isaias in montem, qui evangelizas Zion, immo per
 Isaiam Deus iuxta tui nominis interpretationem
 in speculam verae contemplationis ponat, in qua
 quasi cunctis mortalibus altior positus vicinusque
 5 caelestium effectus, exaltans quasi tuba vocem tuam
annunties populo domini tui, tibi ab eo commisso,
peccata eorum et domui Iacob iniquitates eorum.
 Noli timere culpam mendacii; habes enim quod
 annuntiare debeas; multi enim, quod gravius est,
 10 per securitatem pastorum in his regionibus delecti
 sunt et multi per prosperitatem infeliciissimae
 abundantiae decepti sunt. Ideo quia iuxta
 minas Domini sanguis tantorum de manibus
 requirendus erit pastorum, vigilandum est diligenter,
 15 id est, praedicandum est frequenter verbum Domini,
 a pastoribus scilicet, ecclesiae speculatoribus
 et magistris, ut nullus pereat per ignorantiam; si
 enim per socordiam perierit, suus sanguis in suum
 caput reputabitur.
- 20 6. Sed cur haec mordacius diu omnibus nota

1. cf. Isai. 40, 9

5-7. Isai. 58, 1

12. Ideo) inde-F
 sanctae-M

13. tantorum) sanctorum-F

16. scilicet)

commemoraverim, in subiectis subnectam. Faciunt
 enim et haec^{ad}/proposita suggestionis primae genera;
 ligata namque sunt simul utraque; ex his enim pendent
 illa; et ideo ista primum amputanda sunt; non
 5 enim curat de errore, qui non curat de religione;
 hic enim totus consistit agon, hic tota stat
 causa; hic ille gladius bis acutus, pertingens
usque ad divisionem carnis et animae, compagum,
medullarum, qui est discretor cordis et cogitationum,
 10 usque ad os debet secare nervos. Hinc sale divino
sermo noster conditus est, omne nempe sacrificium
 sale aspergi praeceptum est; hinc scintillae
 de igne illo divino, quem Dominus in terram mittere
venit, descendentes comburant lignum, fenum,
 15 stipulam, quae male superaedificantur a multis super
fundamentum hoc admirandum, cui toti
 superaedicamur Christiani, super quod nemo
aliud potest ponere praeter id quod positum est, quod est
Iesus Christus. Heu quanta gehennae fomenta ubique
 20 praeparantur de his infelicibus aedificiis, super

7-9. Apoc. 1, 16 & Heb. 4, 12 10-1. Coloss. 4, 6 13-4. Luc. 12, 49
 14-6. I Cor. 3, 12-3 17-9. I Cor. 3, 11

6. enim) namque-F 12. scintillae) ita emend. ex sentire F
 16. cur toties-F 17. super-Gundlach, praeter-M, F

quae comburenda sermo ille scintillans Domini,
 descendens de incendii illius semper vivi immensitate,
 cecidit dicendo, Attendite vobis, ne forte
aggraventur corda vestra in crapula et ebrietate
 5 et curis huius vitae, et superveniat in vos dies
illa repentina; tamquam laqueus enim superveniet in
omnes, qui sedent super faciem universae terrae.

7. Vides, quo terrore Dominus nostrum soporem ac
 noxium torporem ad vigilantiam suscitatur, ne
 10 imparati inveniamur. Ideo ego dixi; papa vigila,
 tempus est de somno surgere, Dominus appropinquat,
 et prope iam in fine consistimus inter tempora
 periculosa. Ecce conturbantur gentes, inclinantur
regna; ideo cito dabit vocem suam Altissimus, et
 15 movebitur terra. Ego quasi timidus, dum non sum
 fortis bellator, quia hostem adversariorum circumdedisse
 nos video, te licet importunis clamoribus tamquam
 ducum principem suscitare conor; ad te namque totius
 exercitus Domini in his regionibus, in campo
 20 potius torpentis quam pugnantis, et partim, quod

3-7. Luc. 21, 34-5 11. Rom. 13, 11-2 13-5. Ps. 45, 7

4. graventur-M 9. teporem-F 15. sum)sim-F
 19. in his regionibus om. F

lacrimabilius est, adversariis potius manus
 dantis quam resistentis, periculum pertinet. Te
 totum expectat, qui potestatem habes omnia
 ordinandi, bellum instituendi, duces excitandi,
 5 arma corripere iubendi, aciem construendi, tubas
 undique sonandi, certamen demum, te in fronte
 gradiente, ineundi; quia vero diu, ut
 apparet in hac regione, in hoc spirituali
 bello victi sumus etiam Christiani, vitiis primum
 10 carnalibus ac pomposa conversatione, deinde fidei
 vacillantibus tepore, qua infirmata inimicis nostris
 dum non sensimus circumdati sumus triplicibus,
 qui dati sunt nobis ad vindictam nostrae luxuriosae
 securitatis. Omnium enim malorum causa est caeca
 15 prosperitatis securitas.

8. Miror, fateor, talem securitatem et unde hic
 letalis sopor totos pene cooperit; nescio quae corda,
 quae aures, qui sensus, quos nequaquam ignita ipsius
 Domini verba suscitaverunt ad vigilantiam zeli
 20 iugiter ferventis, ad contemptum mundi, ad paupertatem

1. manum-M 3. habens-F 7. vero) vae-F ; diu om. M
 8. spirituali) temporalis-M 14. caecae-F

Christi, sicut multas gentes ita erexerunt.

Ego enim de extremo mundo veniens, ubi praelia

Domini praeliari spirituales duces conspexi, et

sperans in antea videre fortiores peritioresque

5 huius sancti conflictus duces, et ita inveniens, acsi

quidam campi bellici roscidus cadaverum ac

madidus post pugnam contemplator, stupeo et dolens

ac timens ad teque tantum, qui unica spes de

principibus es per honorem potens Petri apostoli

10 sancti, respiciens plango tanti exercitus stragem.

Sed quia fragilis ingenii cymba non tam in altum

iuxta verbum Domini ducta est, quam adhuc in uno

haereat loco -- non enim charta totum comprehendere

potest, quod animus, variantibus causis, epistolae

15 angustiis concludere voluit -- tum a rege

rogor, ut singillatim suggeram tuis piis

auribus sui negotium doloris; dolor namque suus est

schisma populi pro regina, pro filio, forte et pro

se ipso; fertur enim dixisse, si certum sciret, et ipse

20 crederet.

11. Luc. 5, 4

1. erexerunt)asseruerunt-F(emend. ex useruerunt)

2. ubi)tibi-M ; praelia)bella-F 6. roscidus)inscius-M,

ruscidus-F ; cadaverum om. M(notans "Bob. inscius

cadaverum") 11-2. non tam)nondum-M(notans "Bob. non

tam...quum adhuc...") 15. angustum-M ; tum)dum-M,F

16. singulatim-M

9. Redeamus ad librum, quem iuxta ripam dimisimus.
 Ne igitur hoc fune erroris longissimo liget latro
 antiquus homines, causa schismatis incidatur, quaeso,
 confestim a te cultello quodammodo sancti Petri, id
 5 est vera in synodo fidei confessione et hereticorum
 omnium abominatione ac anathematizatione, ut
 mundes cathedram Petri ab omni errore,
 si quis est, ut aiunt, intromissus; si
 non, puritas agnoscatur ab omnibus. Dolendum enim
 10 ac deflendum est, si fides catholica in sede
 apostolica non tenetur. Sed ut totum dicam,
 ne adulari ultra fas etiam vobis videar, dolendum
 quoque est, quod non vos priores pro zelo fidei, ut
 decebat diu, partem a vobis recedentem,
 15 utpote qui potestatem legitimam habuistis, continuo,
 ostensa prius vestrae fidei puritate,
 condemnastis nec excommunicastis; quare vel infamare
 audent fidei orthodoxae sedem principalem.
 Scitis enim, quam saeva animadversione a patribus
 20 in synodo Nicena sancta dammati sunt innocentium

6.ut)et-M 7.omni om. M ; errore)add. horrore M,F(notans
 "videtur mendo irrepsisse") 8.quis)qui-M 10-1.in sede
 apostolica fides catholica-F 14.parte...recedente-F
 16.vestrae)nostrae-F 18.audent-M(notans "Bob. audere"),
 auderet-F 20.nicaena-F

criminales. Sed haec dicens, non nescio multas
 esse causas in multitudine clamosa et acuta
 et tumultuosa, quae non permittunt haec ad
 purum usque investigare; non quia crederem, sed
 5 quia nunc fieri debeant, dixi. Si qui sunt rebelles
 contra veritatem vestri comprovinciales, tantum
 culpa includat hos; non enim ignem flare potest os
 farina aut alia materia plenum; omnis enim res
 laeditur vicina contrarietate; idcirco precor vos
 10 pro Christo; subvenite famae vestrae, quae laceratur
 inter gentes, ne perfidiae vestrae reputetur ab
 aemulis, si amplius taceatis. Nolite itaque amplius
 dissimulare, nolite tacere; sed potius emittite
 vocem veri pastoris, quam agnoscunt suae oves, quae
 15 alienorum vocem non audiunt, sed fugiunt ab eo.

10. Ego instigo vos, meos patres ac proprios
 patronos, ad depellendam confusionem de facie
 filiorum vestrorum ac discipulorum, qui pro vobis
 confunduntur, et quod his maius est, ut
 20 caligo suspicionis tollatur de cathedra sancti

14-5. Ioann. 10, 4-5

1. nescio-M (notans "Bob. nesciens"), nesciens-F 2. acuta
 om. M (notans "Bob. acuta") 3. et-Gundlach, om. M, F
 4. investigari-F 8. alia) aliqua-F 19. maius) magis-M
 20. suspiciosis-M

Petri. Inde conventum coge, ut ea, quae vobis obiciuntur, purgetis; non enim lusus currus vobis obicitur. Hereticorum enim receptio, ut audio, vobis reputatur, quod absit credi verum fuisse, esse vel fore. Dicunt enim Eutychen, Nestorium, Dioscorum antiquos, ut scimus, hereticos a Vigilio in synodo nescio qua, in quinta, receptos fuisse. Face causam totius, ut aiunt, scandali; si et vos sic recepistis, ut dicitur, aut si et ipsum Vigilium scitis sic infectum defunctum fuisse, quare illum contra conscientiam recitatis? Omne enim quod non ex fide, peccatum est. Iam vestra culpa est, si vos deviasitis de vera fiducia et primam fidem irritam fecistis; merito vestri iuniores vobis resistunt et merito vobiscum non communicant, donec perditorum memoria deleatur et oblivioni tradatur. Si enim haec certa magis quam fabulosa sunt, versa vice filii vestri in caput conversi sunt, vos vero in caudam, quod etiam dici dolor est; ideo et vestri iudices erunt, qui

12. Rom. 14, 23
20. Luc. 11, 19

14. I Tim. 5, 12

18-9. cf. Deut. 28, 44

1. coge) cogo-M
"Bob. quam")

3. enim om. M
9. recipitis-F

7. qua coniec. F, M (notans
20. erunt iudices-F)

semper orthodoxam fidem servaverunt, quicumque
 illi fuerint, etiamsi iuniores vestri videantur;
 ipsi autem orthodoxi et veri catholici, quoniam
 neque hereticos neque suspectos aliquos aliquando
 5 receperunt neque defenderunt, sed in zelo verae
 fidei permanserunt. Si igitur et isti non tales
 sunt, ut seniores ordine culpa tamen maiores
 iuste iudicent, certatim invicem veniam pro tam
 longa discordia postulantes et utrique nullum
 10 contra rationem defendentes -- nec vos hereticos
 neque illi suspectos -- quo utrique culpabiles
 celerius concordate.

11. Sed indulgete mihi talia confragosa loca
 tractanti, si qua forinsecus verba aures pias
 15 offenderunt, quia consequentiae ratio historicae
 nihil me de quaestione praeterire permittit, et
 libertas paternae consuetudinis, ut ita dicam,
 me audere ex parte facit. Non enim apud nos persona,
 sed ratio valet; amor autem pacis evangelicae totum
 20 me dicere cogit, ut vobis sit stupor ambobus,

3. quoniam) qui-F 4. aliquando om. M 7. sint-F 11. nec-F
 15. consequentis coniec. F; historicae-M (notans "Bob.
 historiae"), historiae-F 20. vobis) "Bob. nobis" notat M

qui unus chorus esse debuistis, et
 magnitudo sollicitudinis meae pro concordia
 et pace vestra; si enim patitur unum membrum,
compatiuntur omnia membra. Nos enim, ut ante
 5 dixi, devincti sumus cathedrae sancti Petri; licet
 enim Roma magna est et vulgata, per istam cathedram
 tantum apud nos est magna et clara. Quamquam enim
 Ausonici decoris, acsi augustissimum quiddam
 ac aetheris procul seiunctum climatibus promiscuis,
 10 urbis quondam conditae nomen nimio favore omnium
 prope gentium, totum per orbem usque in
 occidua transmundialis limitis loca, triumphalibus
 saltuatim licet hyperbolice pelagi vorticibus
 undique consurgentibus, mirum dictu non prohibentibus,
 15 longe lateque vulgatum est, ex eo tamen tempore,
 quo Dei filius homo esse dignatus est,
 ac in duobus illis ferventissimis Dei spiritus
 equis, Petro videlicet et Paulo apostolis,
 quorum cara pignora vos felices fecerunt, per mare
 20 gentium equitans turbavit aquas multas et innumerabilium

3-4. I Cor. 12, 26

1. chorus) christus-M ; et om. M, coniciens suppl. F
 3. et coniciens suppl. F 4. compatimur-F (coniciens
 compatiuntur) 8. quoddam-F 11. totis-F
 12. triumphalibus coniec. Gundlach 16. quo) deus et add. F
 17. ferventissimus-M 18. videlicet) scilicet-F

populorum millibus multiplicavit quadrigas,
 supremus ipse auriga currus illius, qui est
 Christus, Pater verus, agitator Israel, trans
 euriporum rheuma, trans delfinum dorsa,
 5 trans turgescientem dodrantem ad nos usque pervenit.
 Ex tunc vos magni estis et clari, et Roma ipsa
 nobilior et clarior est; et si dici potest, propter
 Christi geminos apostolos -- dico ipsos caelos
 a spiritu sancto dictos, Dei gloriam enarrantes,
 10 de quibus infertur, In omnem terram exivit sonus
eorum et in fines orbis terrae verba eorum --
 vos prope caelestes estis, et Roma orbis terrarum
 caput est ecclesiarum, salva loci dominicae
 resurrectionis singulari praerogativa. Et ideo
 15 sicut magnus honor vester est pro dignitate
 cathedrae, ita magna cura vobis necessaria est, ut
 non perdatis vestram dignitatem propter aliquam
 perversitatem. Tam diu enim potestas apud vos erit,
 quamdiu recta ratio permanserit; ille enim certus
 20 regni caelorum clavicularius est, qui dignis per

8-9. Ps. 18, 2 10-1. Ps. 18, 5

1. multiplicat-M 4. reuma...delphinium-M 11. verba eorum)
 verba illorum-F

veram scientiam aperit et indignis claudit; alioquin si contraria fecerit, nec aperire nec claudere poterit.

12. Cum haec igitur vera sint et sine ulla
5 contradictione ab omnibus vera sapientibus recepta sint, licet omnibus notum est et nemo qui nesciat, qualiter salvator noster sancto Petro regni caelorum contulit claves, et vos per hoc forte superciliosum nescio quid prae ceteris vobis maioris auctoritatis
10 ac in divinis rebus potestatis vindicatis; noveritis minorem fore potestatem vestram apud Dominum, si vel cogitetis hoc in cordibus vestris, quia unitas fidei in toto orbe unitatem fecit potestatis et praerogativae, ita ut libertas veritati ubique
15 ab omnibus detur, et aditus errori ab omnibus similiter abnegetur, quia confessio recta etiam sancto privilegium dedit claviculario, communi omnium nonno; liceat etiam iunioribus vestris sollicitare vos pro zelo fidei, pro amore
20 pacis, pro ecclesiae unitate communis matris, quae

nimirum intra viscera more Rebeccae discerpitur
materna et dolet pro rixa ac intestino bello
filiorum suorum et moesta luget divisionem viscerum
suorum. Lacrimis in his opus est magis, quam verbis;

5 quomodo praevaluit inimicus Christiani nominis
post filii Dei viva verba, post evangeliorum
plenitudinem, post apostolicam doctrinam, post
neotericam orthodoxorum auctorum scripturam, qui
de Novo ac Veteri Testamento sacramenta fidei
10 diverso sermone aperuerunt. Corpus Christi dividere
et membra separare et ipsius filii Dei, salvatoris
mundi, tunicam scindere, quae est unitas -- tuum est
hoc artificium, diabole, quem Christus pax nostra,
qui fecit utraque unum, vincat.

15 13. Ideo cito, carissimi, concordate et
convenite in unum et nolite contendere pro antiquis
litibus, sed magis tacete et aeterno silentio ac
oblivioni eas tradite; et si qua dubia sunt, divino
iudicio reservate; quae autem manifesta sunt,
20 de quibus homines iudicare possunt, nolite sine

13-4. Eph. 2, 14

9. Testamento-Gundlach, om. M, F 15. charissime-M
19. reservate iudicio-M(notans "In Bob. omissa vox iudicio")

acceptione personarum iudicate, sitque iudicium
pacificum in portis vestris, et agnoscite vos
 invicem, ut sit gaudium in caelo et in terra pro
 pace et coniunctione vestra. Quid vobis, aliud
 5 defendere praeter fidem catholicam, si veri
 Christiani estis utrique? Non enim ego possum
 scire, unde Christianus contra Christianum de fide
 possit contendere; sed quidquid dixerit orthodoxus
 Christianus, qui recte Dominum glorificat, respondebit
 10 alter, Amen, quia et ille similiter amat et credit.
Unum itaque omnes dicite et unum sentite, ut
 utrique unum sitis, toti Christiani. Nam si, ut
 audivi, aliqui in Christo duas substantias non
 credunt, heretici potius, quam Christiani, credendi
 15 sunt; Christus enim salvator noster verus Deus
 aeternus sine tempore et verus homo absque peccato
 ex tempore est, qui iuxta divinitatem coaeternus
 est patri et iuxta humanitatem iunior est matre,
 qui natus in carne, nequaquam deerat caelo, manens in
 20 trinitate, vixit in mundo; et ideo, si scriptum

1. I Pet. 1, 17 1-2. Zach. 8, 16 3. Luc. 15, 7 11. cf. I Cor. 1, 10
 12. cf. Ioann. 17, 11

1. personarum acceptione-F 5. defendere) add. competit M
 (notans "In Bob. non habetur haec vox competit")
 11. ut) et-M

est in quinta synodo, ut quidam mihi dixit,
 quod, qui duas substantias adorat, orationem suam
 divisam habeat, ille divisus est a sanctis et
 separatus est a Deo, qui scripsit. Nam nos pro
 5 unitate personae, in qua complacuit plenitudinem
divinitatis inhabitare corporaliter, unum Christum
 credimus, divinitatem eius et humanitatem, quia
qui descendit ipse est, qui ascendit super omnes
caelos, ut adimpleret omnia. Si quis aliter de
 10 incarnatione Domini senserit, hostis est fidei et
 abominandus est omnibus Christianis ac anathematizandus,
 cuiuscumque ordinis aut status aut gradus fuerit;
 nullus enim ad iniuriam Dei hominem honorare debet;
 ideo, quaeso vos pro Christo, nulli parcite, qui
 15 vos a Christo separare tentaverit; sed potius ei
in faciem resistite, si quis, nolens recte credere,
 vos a fide catholica revocare voluerit.

14. Date, quaeso, veniam mihi nimis iniurioso
 asperoque cuidam loquaci, qui de tali causa aliter
 20 scribere non potui. Dum enim veritati per omnia

5-6. Coloss. 2,9 8-9. Eph. 4,10 15-6. cf. Gal. 2,11

1. est om. M.

placere volui, azyma cum amaritudine non
 nesciens comedenda, soli Deo servivi, qui est
 benedictus in saecula. Ego germanitatem meam
 probavi et zelum fidei meae, dum malui reprehensoribus
 5 locum dare, quam in tali causa os quamvis
 ineruditum non aperire. Idcirco quamvis
 trisulcus arcuato vulnere scorpius insurgat
 in his, de quibus scriptum est, extendere linguam
suam sicut arcum mendacii, qui nova quaeque licet
 10 epicroca iudicant, copes nimirum effecti
 hyperbolice, quique oliginosis zelotes
 palearibus, scriptis quibusque non lepidis
 invidae refragationis semper opponunt
 pellacias; sed quando rex gentilis peregrinum
 15 scribere Langobardus Scotum hebetem rogat,
 quando unda torrentis antiqui retro redundat, quis
 non mirabitur potius quam calumniabitur? Ego tamen
 non trepidabo neque in causa Dei linguas hominum
 formidabo, qui frequentius mentiantur
 20 quam vera loquantur, cum potius verecundiae

8-9. Ierem. 9,3

1. azyma-F 6. quanquam-M 7. trisulcis-M 10. coppes-M
 11. hyperbolica-M; zelotes-M, celotes-F (coniciens celotes)
 12. palearibus-F, praecalcaribus-M, praepalearibus-Gundlach
 13. invidere fragationis-M 14. pellacias-F, peltas -
 Gundlach, pellates-M (qui Idcirco... pellates in marg.
 scribit, praemittens "In Bob. inserebantur haec omnia
 absque sensu: locus corruptus, cui mederi nequeo")
 15. longobardus-M, F 19. qui) quae-F; mentiuntur-F
 20. loquantur-F

resistendum quam ignaviae subiciendum sit, ubi
necessitas cogat.

15. Igitur, ut ad id loci regrediar, unde digressus
sum, rogo vos, quia multi dubitant de fidei vestrae
5 puritate, ut cito tollatis hunc naevum de sanctae
cathedrae claritate; non enim decet Romanae ecclesiae
gravitatem haec inconstantis levitatis fama,
ut qualibet vi possit moveri a soliditate verae
fidei, pro qua tot martyres suum sanguinem
10 fuderunt, malentes mori quam convelli. Numquid enim,
si in nostris temporibus persecutio venerit ultima
squammae illius invisae, cuius corium vix
universae naves poterunt portare, non usque ad
sanguinem resistemus adversus peccatum repugnando,
15 sicut patres nostri fecerunt, apostolos dico et
tot martyres? Si gravis fuit persecutio in initio
fidei, quanto magis in fine, de quo Dominus dicit;
putasne veniens filius hominis inveniat fidem in
terra? et iterum; nisi breviati fuissent dies illi,
20 non fieret omnis caro salva. Felix, quem mors

13-4. Heb. 12, 4 18-9. Luc. 18, 8 19-20. Matt. 24, 22

7. inconstantis-M(notans "Bob. instantes"), instantis-F
9. martyres) add. sui F 12. squamae-M

ante tollat, quam infirmus neget. Dicit tamen electos ibi futuros, de quibus nimirum praedixit discipulis suis; ecce ego vobiscum sum omnibus diebus usque ad consummationem saeculi. Cum

- 5 itaque electi futuri in diebus illis periculosioribus ceteris ante etiam ac retro incomparabilibus sustinebunt, Domino roborante, maiora; cur nos in tutioribus adhuc ac securioribus vel pro fide nostra, qua ethnicis ac iudaeis ac hereticis differimus,
10 non sustinebimus, Domino adiuvente, minora?

16. Sed talia suadenti, utpote torpenti actu, ac dicenti potius, quam facienti mihi Ionae hebraice, Peristerae graece, Columbae latine, potius tantum vestrae idiomate linguae nuncupato, licet
15 prisco utor hebraeo nomine, cuius et pene naufragium subivi, veniam, quaeso, sicut saepe rogavi, date, quia necessitate magis quam cenodoxia scribere coactus sum, dum quidam litteris suis, quibus me primo pene ingressu in huius regionis
20 terminos arripuit, vos mihi cavendos, tamquam in

3-4. Matt. 28, 20

6. etiam) etenim-M, F(coniciens etiam) 9. deferimus-M
11. ac) et-M 14. nuncupato) nacto-M, nancto-F(coniciens
nuncupato) 15. utor-Gundlach, inter-M, F(coniciens nitar);
hebraeos-M 16. subivi naufragium-F 20. in om. F

Nestorii sectam decedentes, significavit. Qui
 attonitus respondi in brevi, ut potui, non credens
 suae allegationi; sed ne ullo modo veritati essem
 contrarius, iuxta suam epistolam et iuxta meam bonam
 5 de vobis existimationem -- ego enim credo semper
 columnam ecclesiae firmam esse in Roma --
 responsum variavi, quod vobis direxi relegendum
 ac concertandum, sicubi contra veritatem venit; non
 enim me inter irreprehensibiles profiteri audeo.

10 17. Post hanc autem scribendi occasionem insuper
 regis insistit iussio Agilulfi, cuius postulatio
 me in stuporem ac sollicitudinem posuit multiplicem;
 quippe quia non sine miraculo reor esse, quod
 video. Reges namque Arianam hanc cladem
 15 in hac diu regione, calcando fidem catholicam,
 firmarunt; nunc nostram rogant fidem roborari.
 Forte Christus pie nunc nos respicit,
 cuius favore omne nascitur bonum. Nos valde miseri
 sumus, si nostra de parte scandalum amplius
 20 fiat. Rogat itaque rex rogatque regina, rogant te

5.aestimationem-F 6.Roma)ramo-M, F(coniciens roma)
 11.Agilulfi-Gundlach, urgens-M(notans "Bob. agens"),
 agens-F(emend.ex agns) 12.ac)add. in F 14.arrianam-
 M; cladem)labem-F 16.roborari fidem-F 17.pie)pio-
 F(coniciens add. oculo); nos nunc-F 19.parte)forte-M;
 scandalum)scalon-F

- toti, ut, quam celerrime possit fieri, fiant
omnia unum, fiat ut patriae pax, pax fiat mox
fidei, ut toti deinceps grex unus Christi fiat.
Rex Regem, tu Petrum, te tota sequatur ecclesia.
- 5 Quid suavius pace per bella? Quid dulcius
coniunctione fratrum diu separatorum? Quam alacer
annos supervenit pater post multos? Quam suave diu
expectanti matri narratur adventus? Ita Deo
patri pax filiorum gaudium erit in aevum saeculorum
- 10 et laetitia ecclesiae matris tripudium fiet sempiternitatis.
De cetero, sancte papa et fratres, orate pro me,
vilissimo peccatore, et meis comperegrinis iuxta
loca sancta et sanctorum cineres et praecipue iuxta
Petrum et Paulum, viros similiter et magnos magni
- 15 regis duces ac fortissimos campi felicissimi bellatores
dominum crucifixum cum cruore sequentes, ut mereamur
Christo haerere, placere, gratias agere eumque cum
patre et spiritu sancto sine fine laudare vobiscum,
omnibus sanctis hic et in aeterna saecula saeculorum.
- 20 Amen.

2. patria-F 3. fiat Christi-F 4. Regem) scripsi, regum-
M, F ; ecclesia) italia-F 5. pace) papace-M 6. alacer)
add. post-F 8. matri) add. filii M (notans "In Bob. non
habetur vox filii") 9. gaudium erit bis scribit M

EPISTULA VI

1. De sollempnitatibus et sabbatis et neomeniis,
 quae in lege a Domino praecipiuntur observari,
 tuae caritatis imperio cogente dicturi, quid
 secundum litteram reprobari, vel quid spiritualiter
 5 observari debeat, prius cogimur amatoribus litterae
 adversariisque veritatis respondere quos, cum ego
 possim iure repercutere, magis eos blande leviterque
 alloquens, ad agnitionem veritatis venire cupio.
 Qui, cum radicis amarum corticem ruminare cupiunt,
 10 poma exspuunt, pulveremque auri mirantes, formata
 metalla despiciunt, quia, etsi secundum litteram
 legis observari cuncta contendunt, velamine posito
super faciem Moysi, spiritus et veritatis luce
 illuminari nequeunt. Quos, etsi veritati non
 15 acquieverunt, hirci tamen more emissarii humero
 nostrae patientiae portemus, parati ad satisfactionem
de ea quae in nobis est fide, ad eremum suae perditionis,
 et lavemus postea vestimenta, ne contagione heretici
 sensus polluti remaneamus. Nos autem
 20 initio huius opusculi, exemplo Ieremiae docti,

8. I Tim. 2, 4 13. cf. Exod. 34, 33 16-7. cf. I Pet. 3, 15

codd. Pi, Ri, I, X & Y tit. Disputatio Scī Ieronimi De
 Sollempnitatibus Pasche-Ri (eras. manu rec.), I (om. Sci)
 4. vel om. Pi 5-6. respondere post litterae coll. X 6. ego)
 eo-Ri, X, Y, meo-I 7. iure possim-X, I, in se (pro iure)
 possim-Ri, Y 9. radicem-Ri ; amaram-Ri, Y, I ; corticem-Pi
 10. exspuunt-Ri, I, spernunt-Pi, X 11. quia etsi) quasi-X
 12. observare-X 13. et om. Ri 14. quos corr. in quod Y
 15. acquieverint-X, Y, I ; hirci) heretici-X 16. portemus om.
 Ri, X, Y, I 17. eremum om. Pi ; perditionis) add. portare
 praecipimur-X 18. lavemus) scripsi, lavare-codd. ; heretici-
 Pi 19. sensu-X ; remaneant-Ri, Y 20. opusculo et-X

- evellere prius et destruere et postea plantare
et aedificare proponimus, de scripturis prius
ostendere cupientes, quoniam hae feriae Domini,
quae praecipuntur lege servari, non umbra sed
5 spirituali observantia celebrari iubentur. Et si
qui imbecillitatis nostrae auctoritatem
parvi pendere voluerint, prophetas audiant, qui
provido vaticinio providentes harum reprobationem
evangelii tempore voce aperta praedixerunt, immo
10 in eis Domino praeloquente, Dies festos vestros et
neomenias et sabbata odit anima mea, et haec se
Dominus non mandasse pronuntiat, cum ipsum in lege
haec praecēpisse manifestum est. In quibus verbis
quid aliud ostenditur, quam cum Christus finis
15 legis advenerit, ea secundum litteram custodiri
non mandaverit? De sacrificiis autem per alium
prophetam loquitur; non in sacrificiis tuis arguam
te; holocausta autem tua in conspectu meo sunt
semper; non accipiam de domo tua vitulos neque
20 de gregibus tuis hircos, et reliqua usque;

1-2.cf. Ierem.1,10 10-1.IV Esdr.1,31 & Isai.1,13-4
14-5.Rom.10,4 17-p.73,1,Ps.49,8-13

1.prius et)et add.Krusch, om. codd. 3.quomodo-X,I
4.praecipunt-X; observari-X; non umbra)ob umbrali-X
5.celebrantur (om. iubentur)-R1 6.inbecillitates-Pi;
auctoritate-I 7.audient-X 8.vaticinio)patrocinio-R1, add.
ventura-X; harum)eorum-X 9.evangelii tempora-X 10.festus-X
11.sabbata)add.vestra X; se om. X 12.ipsum om. X 14.quam)
quod-R1 15.ea)ac-I, ea post litteram coll. X; custodire-X
17.prophetam)add. sic X; tuis om. X 18-20.holocausta...
reliqua om. X 20.usque)add. dum dicit X

aut sanguinem hircorum potabo? Quibus verbis apostolus, eodem spiritu repletus, conveniens ait; nemo vos seducat in esca aut in potu aut in parte diei festi aut neomeniae aut sabbati, quod est umbra futurorum, et reliqua. Quibus verbis luculentissime declarat, ut in his, sive diebus temporaliter sive escis carnalibus observatis, nihil aliud quam vanissimam umbram et erroris seductionem invenire potuerit. Et dominus Iesus etiam in evangelio sabbatum solvere declaravit, cum paralitico praeceperat, Tolle grabatum tuum, quod lege prohibitum, videlicet onera in sabbato portari, manifestum est; solvit et scenophegiam, quando dicebat, Non ascendam ad diem festum hunc, acsi dixisset, In hac huius festivitatis observantia honoris mei gloria non ascendet.

2. De Pascha autem tanquam maximo sacramento salutis nostrae paulo latius aliquid dicturus, etiamsi non est huius temporis cuncta disserere, prius ostendere volo, quibus vel quantis rationibus

(p.72,17-)1.Ps.49,8-13 3-5.Coloss.2,16-7 11.Ioann.5,8 14.Ioann.7,8

1.aut...hircorum om. X ; potabam-I, non potabo-X
2.apostolus)add. paulus-X 3.poto-X 4.neomenia vel in sabbatis-Pi, in neomeniae aut in sabbati-I, in neomenia aut in sabbatis-Y 6.luculentissimae-X ; ut-Krusch, om. codd. ; his om. Pi ; sive) festis-X 8.nihil aliud om. X 9.seditionem-Ri ; poterit-Ri,X,Y ; Iesus)add. Christus-Ri 10.etiam om. Ri,X ; in om. Pi ; solvere sabbatum-Pi 11.praeceperat post Tolle coll. X ; gravatum-X, grabattum-Y 12.sabbati-I, in sabbato onera-Pi 13.scenopigia-X, schenofegiam-I 14.ascendo-X 15.festivitatis)sollemnitatatis-X ; observantiae-I 16.honoris om. X ; gloria mea-X ; ascendit-Pi,X,Y,I 19.temporis om. X 20.vel)ut-Ri ; ut quibus quantis-I

- Phase Domini custodiri praecipitur. Mense
 primo decima die mensis agnus anniculus immaculatus
 segregari et servari usque ad quartam decimam et
in decima quarta a Domino per Moysen occidi
 5 praecipitur ab universo ceto filiorum Israel ad
vesperum. Quas rationes ipse Dominus, verus agnus,
 cum ad verum Pascha progreditur, aliquas permanere
 volens custodivit, aliquas non servari cupiens
 commutavit. Qui cum in primo mense secundum
 10 praeceptum legis immolari dignatus est et decimam
quartam nullo modo praevenire suae passionis
tempora commisit, aliqua tamen contra figuram eum
 fecisse narrat evangelium, quia, cum a Iuda
 traderetur Iudeis, non decima die mensis primi
 15 tentus est, et cum sui corporis et sanguinis
sacramenta dare in sua vita discipulis suis dignatus
fuerit, hoc contra figuram fecisse monstratur,
 cum ille agnus, qui in typo Christi in Pascha
 occidi praecipitur, assatus igni, cum capite et
 20 pedibus et intraneis post suam occisionem consumi

2-6. cf. Exod. 12, 3, 5, & 6

1. Phase) fassae-X, pascha-Pi; custodiri) cus...tore-Pi
 2. decimo-X, I; agniculus-Pi, Ri 4. occidere-Pi 5. coetu-X, I
 7. ad om. X; verum) ita corr. ex vesperum-Y, vesperum-Ri, I
 11. quartam) add. lunam Pi 12. tempore-X, I; commiserit-X,
 permisit-Ri; eum om. Ri, X, Y, I 13. evangelium) euglam-Pi,
 evangelista-X; quia) qui-X 14. et iudaeis-X 15. cum om. X
 16. vita sua-X; vita) add. et Ri, Y 18. typo) tibo-X; in
 Pascha) om. in Ri, Y 20. interaneis-Y, interaneas-Ri,
 intestinīs-X, intrantis-I

- a populo mandaretur. Hoc autem, ut mihi videtur,
propter duas rationabiles causas dominus fecisse
cognoscitur; ne, cum Pascha cum discipulis
manducasset, nisi postea sacrificium commutasset,
5 dicens, Hoc est corpus meum, sic etiam postea
observari debere crederetur; haec est autem
altera, ut opinor, causa, ut cum corpus Domini
integrum et suum sanguinem in se continens ante
passionem cernerent, hoc corpore se refici spiritualiter
10 crederent, et sic etiam nunc a nobis credi debeat.
Et hoc etiam intueri debemus, quod non in decima
quarta die ad vesperum, ut lex praecipit,
ille agnus Dei, qui tollit peccata mundi, et
Pascha nostrum immolatus est Christus, sed decima
15 quinta die, in quo manifestum est diem festum
Iudeorum cum suo sacrificio a Domino esse solutum.
Sed quid in hoc intelligere debemus, quod prius
figuralis agni carnes comedere et postea
sui corporis cibo apostolos refecit, et post
20 Iudeorum typicum nostrum Pascha immolatus est Christus?

5. Matt. 26, 26 13. Ioann. 1, 29 14 & 20. I Cor. 5, 7

2. dominus) deum-Pi 3. cognoscitur om. X 4. manducaret-Ri,
X, Y 6. est om. Ri, I, X, Y 7. altera) altam-Pi; cum om. Ri
9. hoc) in-Pi; se om. Ri, X, Y 9-10. hoc... crederent om. I
11-2. Xa IIIIa decima-Pi 12. dies-I 13. tulit-X; peccatum-
I, X, Y 14-5. Xa Va decima-Pi 16. esse om. Pi 17. quid om. X
18. figuralis) add. ignis-X, figurales-I; comederit-X
19. cibo) cibos-Pi, cibus-X, add. suos-X, add. nostros-Ri;
refecit-Ri, reficerit-X 20. typicum) tibi cum-X; nostrum
om. Ri, post Pascha coll. I, Y

Hoc, ut opinor, non ut veritas figuram, sed
 figura veritatem praecedat, quia non prius quod
spirituale, sed quod animale, diende quod spirituale.
 Unde electa et amica sponsa Christi, universalis
 5 ecclesia, anathematizat eos, quia cum Iudeis in
 festivitate Paschali decimam quartam
 celebrari diffiniunt et sabbata et cetera huiusmodi
 umbralis observantiae. Et hoc tantum observare
 dignatus est Dominus, ut in primo mense post
 10 decimam quartam diem Paschalem festivitatem,
 praecedente una sabbatorum, celebrari sine ulla
 ambiguitate censuerit, licet in hoc varietas
 ecclesiae orta est, aliis sufficere credentibus,
 ut non in decima quarta cum Iudeis Pascha
 15 celebrarent, alii autem hoc fortiter cauteque
 custodiunt, ut immolationem veri agni Dei qui
tollit peccatum mundi, ante decimam quartam
 celebrare non audeant, secundum illud legale
 praeceptum, quod et Dominus ad passionem veniens
 20 minime contempsit, Observabitis eum.

2-3. I Cor. 15, 46 16-7. Ioann. 1, 29 (20-p. 77, 1. Exod. 12, 6)

1. non ut) ut non-I, X, Y 2. praecederet-Ri, praecidere-X
 3. spiritale est, sed-X 4. Deinde unde-X ; Christi) sponsi
 add. I, X 5. quia) qui-Y 6. Xam IIIam decimam lunam-Pi
 7. celebrari) expectari-Pi ; difiniunt-Ri, X, deficiunt-I
 8. observantia-X ; observari-I, X, Y 9. est) quod add. Ri, Y,
 quod et add. I, X 10. Xam IIIam decimam-Pi 11. procedentem-
 Pi, I ; celebrare-I ; ulla om. Pi 12. ambiguitatem censerint-
 X ; varietas) veritas-Ri, X 14. Xa IIIa decima-Pi 15. cauteque-X
 16. custodiant-Ri ; Dei om. X 17. tollit-X ; peccata-I ;
 mundi om. X 18. legale) regule-X 19. quod) quando-Y ; et om.
 Pi 20. contempsit) add. sed ait-Pi

usque ad decimam quartam, quod nunc

maxime ecclesia, auctoritatem sedis apostolicae
sequens, observat. Sed haec deserentes, quia non
est huius temporis per singula discuti, ad spiritualem
5 intelligentiam mentis aciem convertamus, quibus
praecipitur mense novorum decima quarta die mensis
Paschalis agni carnes comedere; ut, novis nascentibus
bonorum operum fructibus, cum decalogi a nobis
verba completa fuerint, in evangelii perfectione
10 quaterno numero consistente carnes nostri agni
in vespere mundi, in quo finis saeculorum pervenit,
non tenebratis cordibus, spiritu sancto noctem nostram
illuminante, comedamus.

3. Sex diebus operari praecipimur, in septimo
15 autem, hoc est sabbato, ab omni opere servili
prohibemur. Per senarium autem numerum perfectio
operum designatur, quia sex diebus fecit Deus
caelum et terram. In sabbato autem omne opus
servile, hoc est peccatum, operari prohibemur,
20 quia qui facit peccatum servus est peccati, ut,

1. Exod. 12, 6 20. Ioann. 8, 34

1. Xam IIIIam decimam lunam-Pi ; quod) quae-Ri, Y, corr. in
quam-Pi ; nunc om. X 2. maximae-X ; apostolicae) ~~del. et~~
superscr. romanae-Pi 3. observet-I ; non om. I 5. aciem) etiam
I ; convertamus) add. De Pascha-X 6. praecipitur) add.
spiritaliter-X 7. novis) nobis-Ri, Y, in nobis-X 8. ob
bonorum operum fructus-Ri ; fructibus) fluctibus-I 9. in om. X
10. consistentes-Pi, I, consistentis-X 11. quo) quos-Ri 12. non
tenebratis) intenebratis-Pi, non tenebricatis-I ; nostram om.
Pi 13. comedamus) colamus-I 14. De sabbato et vi diebus-Ri,
X, Y ; operare-I ; praecipitur-Ri, I 15. ab omni opere) sed-X
16. Per senarium) personarum-I, per septenarium-X (septenarium
corr. in senarium Y) ; autem) enim-X 17. quia) et quae-X
20. quia) quae-X

cum in praesenti saeculo perfectionem operum compleverimus, non obdurantes corda nostra, in veram requiem, quae contumacibus denegata est, pervenire mereamur.

- 5 4. Ab altero die sabbati septem ebdomadas plenas
numerare nobis lege praecipitur usque ad alteram
diem expletionis ebdomadae septimae, id est
quingentesimum diem, in quo primitiae offeruntur.
Quae dinumeratio perfectionis plenae per septenarium
10 et quinquagenarium numerum et decem quinquies
efficitur. In quo hoc significari puto, ut per
quinquagenarium, qui remissionem in se continet, et
per caritatem, quae, septiformi spiritus gratia
superveniente, diffusa est in cordibus nostris,
15 quinque nostri corporis sensus legi Dei subditos
habeamus, quae verba decalogi in se continet, et
per caritatem, ut dixi, quae caritas operit multitudinem
peccatorum. Et sic sacrificium novum Domino ex
omnibus habitationibus nostris in usum magni
20 sacerdotis cum pacificis nostris victimis cedentes

5-7. Lev. 23, 15-6 14. Rom. 5, 5 17-8. I Pet. 4, 8 18-9. Lev.
23, 16-7 19-20. Lev. 23, 20

2. durantes-X, indurantes-Y (corr.) 4. mereamur) add. domino per
david dicente: si intrabunt in requiem meam-Ri, I, Y, add.
dicente domino per david: si introibunt in requiem meam-X
5. De quingentesimo ab altero-Ri, I, Y, De quinquagessimo ab
altera-X 7. id est) in-X 9. plena-Ri, I, Y 9-10. numerum post
septenarium coll. Ri, X 10. quingenarium-X; et quinquies decies
et x quinquies-Ri, et quinque decies (quindecies-I) et decem
quinquies-X, I, et Ves decies et decies quinquies-Y 11.
efficitur) efficit-X, I, om. Ri, Y; quo om. Ri; hoc om. X;
significare-Ri, X; per om. X 12. quinquagenarium) add.
numerum-X; et) scripsi, om. codd. 13. septiformis-Pi, I, X, Y;
spiritu gratiae-Ri, I, Y, gratiae spiritu-X 14. nostris) add.
et-Pi, Ri, Y 16. decalogum-Ri, I, Y; et om. X 17. quae) quia-I,
om. quae caritas-X; co-operit-X 19. habitationibus)
ambulationibus-I; magni) nostri-Ri 20. pacificis nostris)
pacificus hostis-X, pacificis hostiis-I; victimis om. X;
credentes-X (& Krusch)

offeremus, sicut Domino pacem fecerimus, offerentes
spirituales hostias acceptabiles Deo per Iesum
Christum, qui panes primitiarum terrae nostrae
etsi fermentatos, tamen sibi consecratos comedit
5 ipse pontifex, qui caelum penetrans possit compati
infirmis nostris, et cum apud patrem
advocatum habeamus eum, opera, quae fermento fragilitatis
nostrae fermentata in usum huius sacerdotis
manu operationis elevata cedent, per viscera
10 misericordiae devorat. Quae non odorem
suavitatis Deo praebent, sed magis indulgentiam exigunt.

5. In fine anni solaris apud Hebreos, id est
septimo mense, quando congregantur fructus in
horrea sive in cellaria, tunc sollemnia celebrare lege
15 praeceptum est, id est prima die Tubarum, decima die
Expiationum celebrari debere sabbata, et a quinta
decima die per dies septem, usque dum finiantur
octava, Tabernaculorum feriae esse praecipiuntur.
His autem fortasse significari potest, ut quia
20 nos in fine saeculi trinae invocationis sacramento

1-3. I Pet. 2, 5 3-4. Lev. 23, 17 5-6. cf. Heb. 4, 14-5

1. offerimus-Ri, I, X ; sicut) si cum-Ri, I, X 5. ipse) sibi-Ri
9. operationis) orationis-Ri, I, X, Y ; elevata om. X ; cedunt-X
10. non om. Ri 10-1. Deo post odorem coll. Pi, Deo om. X
12. De scenophegia (scenupigia-X) et in fine-Ri, I, X, Y ;
aput-I ; ebreos-X 14. in om. X ; tunc) ter-X, Y ; sollemnia
om. Pi ; celebrari-X 15. praeceptum est) om. est-Pi ; primo-
Ri 16. Expiationum) expletionum-Ri, Y, expletionum-I ; celebrare-
Ri, Y 16-7. quinto decimo-Pi 18. octava) scripsi, octavo-Pi,
Ri, Y, VIII-X, VIIIvo a-I 19. His autem) hoc-X, autem hoc-I, Y ;
significare-Ri, I, X 20. trino sacramento invocationis-Pi

sumus consecrati -- tuba praedicationis, evangelii
 fide et aspersione sanguinis Iesu Christi, in
 qua vera propitiatio est -- finito legis tempore,
 discere non cessemus, et, congregatis novis bonorum
 5 operum fructibus, ab omni opere malo quieti, per
 septiformis spiritus gratiam persecutione sustentata,
 in octavae beatitudinis numerum pervenire mereamur.
 Quod tamen per ieiunii et orationis labores fieri
 non est dubium, quia et affligi animas
 10 lege praecipitur.

6. In neomenia bucinare tuba praecipitur, id est
 nova luna, quia qui luna scientiae illuminatus
 est, praedicare aliis cessare non debet. Quod
 Paulus scientiae Christi fulgore illuminatus observare
 15 minime contempsit, praedicans in synagogis
 Iudeorum.

7. De sacrificiis pauca dicere decreveram,
 quae cum hostiae veri pontificis in se figuram
 continent, a nobis etiam Domino spiritualiter
 20 offerri debent. Per vitulum enim labor noster,

11. cf. Ps. 80, 4

2. fidem et aspersionem-Ri, I, X, Y 3. qua) quid-I 4. dicere
 non cessamus-Ri, I, X, Y ; novis) nobis-I, in nobis-X, om. Ri, Y
 6. persecutione) persecutionem-X, perfectione-Pi ; sustentata)
 sustenta-I, Y, suscepta-Pi 7. numerum) numeros-Pi, meritum -X
 8. tamen) add. et-Pi ; orationibus-I ; laborem-I, X, Y ; fieri
 om. Pi, add. potest-X 9. dubium) add. consequi-Pi ; anima-Pi
 11. bucinari-X 12. luna) in lunae-I, in lumine-Ri, lumine-X, Y ;
 illuminatus om. X 14. observare) servare-X 16. Iudeorum)
 eorum-X 18. pontificis veri-X ; figuram post continent coll.
 X 19. contineant-Pi, Y ; spiritualiter om. X

- per ovem innocentia, per hircum mortificatio
 fornicariae voluptatis, per capram, quae in sublimi
 pastu pascitur, vita theórica, per arietem opus
 praedicationis, quae agnos bono pastori generat,
 5 per turturem castitas solitariae mentis nemini
 praeter Christum iunctae, per columbam perspicacior
 intuitus sacramentorum, per panem soliditas
 praeceptorum, per simulam sinceritas vitae, per
 vinum et sal veritas praedicationis, per oleum
 10 fomenta caritatis intelliguntur. Quae omnia sive
 festa sive sacrificia in uno loco celebrari et
 offerri lex iubet, quia tunc omnia prosunt, cum
 in unitate ecclesiae sine ullo schismatis
 errore peraguntur.
- 15 8. Haec pauca in bysso multa disserens, hanc
 scribiciunculam diviti pauper, peregrinus tibi
 praebere non timui, quia perfecta dilectio foras
mittit timorem, credens etiam hoc, o venerabilis
 papa, quod plus valet obedientia cum fide, quam
 20 facultas humani ingenii. Haec autem et a te

17-8. I Ioann. 4, 18

1. innocentiam-Ri, innocentiae-I 2. fornicari-X ;
 voluntatis-X, I ; sublime-X 3. opus) autem-Ri 4. praedicationis)
 aedificationis-X ; quae om. X ; agnus boni pastoris-X
 6. perspicacia-Ri, I, Y, perspicacia-X 9. veritas) severitas-
 I, X 10. omnia om. X 12. omnia om. X ; prosunt) possunt-X
 13. schismatis) scimatis-Pi 15. bysso) abyssus-Ri, I, Y, abyso-X ;
 multa) add. legis praecepta-Ri, I, X, Y ; deserens-Ri, I, X, Y ;
 hanc) haec-X 16. scriptiunculam-X, turbiciunculam-I ; tibi)
 cui-X 17. praebere) scribere-Pi 18. credis-I 19. quam) quia-I
 20. et om. X

postulata sunt et a me dicta propter eos, qui,
 cum in superficie Christiani videantur, per Iudaici
 sensus impietatem corpus Christi, id est ecclesiam,
 suis schismatibus scindere non metuunt. Haec sub
 5 brevitatem transcurramus, quae si per omnia tractarentur,
 grande volumen poscerent, quae non est huius
 temporis peragi, quia magni temporis otium exigunt.
 Ora pro me, venerabilis papa.

1. sunt om. X, post dicta coll. Ri, I, Y 2. cum ficie-X ;
 superfitiae-I 3. sensus) sessus-X ; id est) impietatem-X,
 om. Ri, I, Y 4. metunt-X ; Haec) add. supra dicta-X
 6. poposcerent-I ; quae) quod-Ri, I, X, Y ; est om. Ri
 7. peragi... temporis om. Ri ; otium) hostium-X ; exigit-
 Ri, I, X, Y 8. Ora... papa om. X, add. Explicit Disputatio De
 Sollepnitatibus-Ri(eras. manu rec.) & Y

EPISTULA VII

1. Cum iam de moribus moralibusque disciplinis
 diu dixerim, iterum rogas, fili imbuende, doceri.
 Audisti quid scriptum est; cui pauca non sufficiunt,
 plura non proderunt. Scripsi tibi antea de serietate
 5 ac pudicitia, cui nimirum, ut ait quidam,
 etiam tuta timeo; sed quia admonitio quibusdam
 custodia, quibusdam consolatio, quibusdam perfectio
 efficitur morum, intellecta scilicet complementibus,
 ideo frequenter docendi sunt ac imbuendi filii
 10 dulcissimi, ut per quasdam delectationes
 litterarum suas vincere possint de intestino
 amaritudines bello.

2. Bellum igitur et beluinum vince,
 concupiscentias scilicet ac superciliosum. Utilis
 15 esto in humilitate infimusque in
 auctoritate, simplex in fide, doctus in moribus,
 mordax in propriis, remissus in alienis,
 purus in amicitia, callidus in insidiis, durus in
 mollibus, mollis in duris, varius in planis, planus
 20 in variis, iucundus in amaris, tristis in iucundis,

codd. M, F, T, Ti tit. epistola sancti columbani ad
 iuniolem quendam-M, exortatio eiusdem-Ti
 2.doceri)ceri do-T 3.quid)quod-T 4.sobrietate-M
 5.ait)apte-F(emend.ex a te) 8.morum om. M, F
 10.delectiones-F 14.Utilis)vilis-M, virilis coniec. F
 15.infirmusque-F, T, Ti 17.alienis...propriis-F, T, Ti

discors in necessariis, aequalis in veris, severus in
 suavibus, dulcis in amaritudinibus, fortis in
 tribulationibus, imbecillis in discordiis;
tardus ad irascendum, velox ad discendum, tardus quoque
 5 ad loquendum, ut sanctus ait Iacobus, velox
 similiter ad audiendum; efficax in profectu,
 hebes in vindicta, cautus in verbo, promptus in
 opere; amabilis probis, squalidus inhonestis,
 lenis infirmis, durus stolidis, rectus erectis,
 10 humilis deictis; sobrius ubique, castus ubique,
 pudicus semper, patiens tenus zelo, cupidus
 numquam, largus semper si non ope,
 vel animo; oportunus in ieiuniis, oportunus
 in vigiliis, discretus in officiis, tenax in
 15 studiis, constans in fragoribus, laetus in meroribus,
 audax in causa veritatis, timidus in contentionibus;
 supplex bonis, insuperabilis malis, mitis in
 liberalitate, infatigabilis in caritate, iustus
 in omnibus; pius dignis, misericors pauperibus;
 20 memor beneficiorum, inmemor iniuriarum; amator

4-6. Iacob. 1, 19

4. quoque add. manu rec. T 6. profectu) prospectu-M
 8. squalidus) lacuna hoc loco in M 11. tenus) plenus-M
 12. si non) sive-M, sin-F; ope) opere-M 13. ieiuniis,
 oportunus) ieiuniis, inopportunus-T, Ti, ieiuniis, importunus-M, F

- mediocrium, nulus opum, animi depressor,
 cogitationum publicator; senioribus oboediens,
 iunioribus concurrens, coequalibus coequans,
 perfectis concertans, melioribus non invidens,
 5 praecurrentibus non dolens, remorantibus non
 detrahens, provocantibus consentiens; lassus licet,
 non deficiens; flens simul et gaudens pro fervore
 ac spe; timens semper pro fine, licet proficiens
 in certo.
- 10 2. En tuum, O puer amande ministerque dulcis,
 monumentum; talis si sis, nimis beatus eris; quia
 per prospera et adversa idem eris, paratus ad cuncta,
 singulis occurrens, temperans gestus, nutriens
 crescenda, interimens decrescenda, levigans
 15 deasperata, exasperans vituperata; semper sollicitus,
 semper crescens, semper acquirens; semper tendens
 ad superna, semper currens ad bravium; semper
 caelestia desiderans, semper divina sitiens. Ecce
 doctrinam; da sequacitatem, si potes, ut habeas
 20 felicitatem et potestatem, cum puerilia desideria

1.nulus)nudus-M 2.puplicator-Ti 4-6.melioribus non
 invidens praecurrentibus, condolens remorantibus, non
 detrahens provocantibus, consentiens-M 8.ac)et-M
 11.monumentum-T 13.gestum-M 14.laevigans-M
 15.deasperata)scripsi, disperata-T,Ti, disparata-M,
 aspera coniec. F 20.pueritia-M

fugiens corpus sic in potestatem spiritus redigeris,
 et te vadem pro tuis tradideris peccatis,
 in brevi militantem pro aeternis stipendiis. O te
 felicem, o te beatum, oque mirabilem te

- 5 puerum, si haec compleveris universa. Si enim
 in his diligenter omnibus fueris sensu et
 opere occupatus, non vacabis neque vanis vagisque
 neque turpibus cogitationibus; sed quasi
 incipiens semper tibi ipsi congregabis, quibus in
 10 perpetuum fruiturus eris, unius vir vocandus animi
 et singularis emolumenti quaesitor, egregius regni
 negotiator aeterni. Converte igitur te totum in
 haec, quia habes in quibus tuam exerceas iuventutem,
 virtutem, efficaciam, strenuitatem, ne, si in
 15 contrariis hae fuerint exercitatae, pereant quae
per vim rapiunt regnum caelorum.

16.cf. Matt. 11, 12

1.redigens-M 2.tradens-M 3.militatem-T1 4.te mirabilem-
 M 6.fuerit-T 11.aegregius-T 15.quae)qui-M, que-F
 16.finit add. T

INSTRUCTIONESInstructio IDe Fide

1. Instructionis valde necessariae curam gerens,
 primum ante omnia, quod omnibus scire primum est,
 dicere breviter licet. Cupio, ut quod est
 fundamentum salutis omnium, nobis crepido sermonis
 5 sit, et inde nostra doctrina ordiatur unde omne quod
 est oritur et quod non fuit initiatur, ostiumque
 nobis sermonis cordis credulitas aperiat, quae in
 salutem confessionis omnium Christianorum recte
 credentium ora aperuit. De initio ergo humanae
 10 salutis, Christo adiuvente, recte nostra dicta sumant
 exordium.

2. Credat itaque primum omnis qui vult salvus
 esse, in primum et in novissimum Deum unum ac trinum,
 unum substantia, trinum subsistentia; unum potentia,
 15 trinum persona; unum natura, trinum nomine; unum
 numine, qui est Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus,
 Deus unus, totus invisibilis, incomprehensibilis,
 ineffabilis, in quo est semper esse, quia aeternus
 est Deus Trinitas, cui initium non quaeras, qui finem
 20 non habet, et qui semper fuit quod est et erit;

codd. - T, Ti, M

Tit.) Incipit Instructio S^ci Columbani Abbatis ad Monachos de
 Sede: In nomine S^ce Trinitatis Liber Epistolarum S^ci
 Columbae Abbatis Incipit-T; Incipit Instructio eius de Fide-
 Ti; Incipiunt Instructiones seu Epistolae S. Columbani
 Abbatis transcriptae ex MS Codice Monasterii Bobiensis,
 litteris Hibernicis confecto. Epistola sive Sermo Primus-M.
 5. ordiatur) ita corr. ex ordinatur T 7. credulitas)
 crudelitas-T 9. aperuit) aperit-M 13. trinum) verum-T, Ti; add.
 trinum essentia T 17. Deus) om. M 20. et qui) om. et T

quia in Deo iteratio non est, sed semper Trinitatis perfectio. Quod unus est Deus Trinitas, Deus ipse in lege de se testatur dicens, Audi Israel, Dominus Deus tuus unus est. Quod autem unus ille Deus

- 5 Trinitas est, Salvator in Evangelio docuit dicendo, Euntes nunc docete omnes gentes, baptizantes eos in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. His duobus testimoniis duarum legum quasi quibusdam fulcris firmissimis fides credentium firmata est.
- 10 Ubi habes in veritate unitatem in Trinitate et Trinitatem in unitate. Pro rei igitur magnitudine breviter quod credimus diximus, et fides cordis oris produxit confessionem; et hoc firmiter contra omnes hereses tenendum est, quod Deus unus dividi vel
- 15 separari non potest, quia quod fuit totus, semper fuit ut est. Cesset ergo venenosa et insana omnium hereticorum vesania, quando ipso Deo teste audimus et credimus, Audi Israel, Dominus Deus tuus unus est, quia qui unus est, hoc semper fuit quod est; sed ut
- 20 scires quantus, pluraliter dixit in mundi conditione,

3-4 & 18. Deut. 6,4 6-7. Matt. 28,19

6. baptizantes eas-T 9. fulchris-T, Ti

10. Ubi) Ibi-M 10-11. unitatem... unitate) Trinitatem in unitate et unitatem in Trinitate-M 17. audimus) audivimus-M

20. scires) scias-M

Faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram.

Ne vero erres in numero, Christus tibi indicat Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum, in cuius Dei quasi unius Dei nomine omne humanum genus baptizandum est.

- 5 Quid plura de Trinitatis coaeternitate? Quod Deus unus est, sufficienter nos docet. De veritate autem personarum Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, distinctio Christi, praecepti auctoritate, abundanter instruxit audientes. Ex his inquam testimoniis
10 omnis errorum exclusa perversitas est, quibus nominando Trinitas, atque unitas attestando, approbatur.

3. Cum rei igitur magnitudo nos de his quasi de ineffabilibus amplius loqui prohibet, firma fide supra dicta conservemus. Quia cui haec pauca de Deo Trinitate
15 non sufficiunt, plura iuxta Scripturam non proderunt. De eo enim tantum quod unus in Trinitate et trinus in unitate est, diximus. De essentia vero eius quis dicere poterit? Quomodo ubique praesens et invisibilis est, vel quemadmodum caelum et terram et omnem creaturam
20 repleat, iuxta illud, Nonne caelum et terram ego impleo?

1.Gen.1,26 20-p.90,1.Ier.23,24

4.humanum genus)genus humanum-M ; baptizandum)baptizandum-T
5.Deus)dicitur-M 11.attestando)atestando-Ti
13.prohibet)prohibeat-M

dicit Dominus, et alibi, Spiritus Dei, secundum
Prophetam, replevit orbem terrarum, et iterum,
Caelum mihi sedes est, terra autem scabellum pedum
meorum? Deus ergo ubique est, immensus totus, et
5 ubique proximus iuxta suum de se testimonium; Ego
sum, inquit, Deus proximans et non Deus de longe.
Non ergo longe a nobis manentem quaerimus Deum, quem
intra nos si meremur habemus. In nobis enim habitat
quasi anima in corpore, si tamen nos membra sana
10 sumus eius, si mortui non sumus peccatis, si putridae
voluntatis corruptione immunes sumus; tunc vere ille
habitat in nobis, qui dixit, Et habitabo in eis et
inter illos ambulabo. Si autem digni sumus ut ille
in nobis sit, tunc in veritate ab illo vivificamur
15 quasi viva eius membra; In ipso enim, ut Apostolus
ait, vivimus et movemur et sumus. Quis inquam iuxta
hanc ineffabilem et incomprehensibilem essentiam
eius altissimum investigabit? Quis Dei profunda
perscrutabitur? Quis aeternum universitatis principium
20 tractare audebit? Quis infinitum Deum omnia implentem

1. Ier. 23, 24 1-2. Sap. 1, 7 3-4. Isai. 66, 1 5-6. Ier. 23, 23
12-3. II Cor. 6, 16 15-6. Act. 17, 28

1. alibi...prophetam) alibi secundum prophetam spiritus-T
6. inquit) inquit-T 7. quaerimus) quaeramus-M
8, si meremur) sumere-M 10. putridae) putrida-M
15. quasi) qua-M ; Apostolus ait) ait Apostolus-M

et omnia circumdantem, omnia penetrantem et omnia
excedentem, omnia capientem et omnia effugientem,
scire gloriabitur? Quem nemo vidit umquam ut est.

Nullus itaque praesumat quaerere investigabilia Dei,

- 5 quid fuit, quomodo fuit, quo fuit. Haec sunt ineffabilia,
inscrutabilia, investigabilia; simpliciter tantum,
tamen fortiter, crede quod sic est Deus et sic erit,
quomodo fuit, quia inconvertibilis Deus est.

4. Quis est ergo Deus? Pater, Filius et Spiritus
10 Sanctus, Deus unus est. Amplius non requiras de Deo;
quia volentibus altam scire profunditatem, rerum ante
natura consideranda est. Trinitatis enim scientia
profunditati maris merito comparatur, iuxta illud
Sapientis, Et alta profunditas, quis inveniet eam?

- 15 Si quis ergo scire voluerit profundissimum divinae
cognitionis pelagus, istud visibile ante si possit
pervideat, et quanto minus cognoscere se noverit de
his quae intra mare latent, tanto plus intellegat minora se
scire posse de auctoris profunditate; et sicut debet,
20 et decet, minus de creatore quam de creatura tractare

3. I Tim. 6, 16 14. Eccles. 7, 25

5. quo) quando-M 7. tamen) sed tamen-M 9. Pater) add. et-Ti
10. Deus unus) unus Deus-M 11. rerum) add. de Deo-M
18. minora) minimum-M 19. auctoris) authoris-M
19-20. debet, et) om. M

praesumat, quia in maioribus idoneus esse non potest,
qui prius minora non investigavit, et cui in minoribus
non creditur, in maioribus quomodo credendum est?

Qui enim, rogo, terrena ignorat, caelestia cur

5 scrutatur? O, qui vana loquuntur, Ignorantes, iuxta
Apostolum, neque quae loquuntur neque de quibus

affirmant ! Quam multi enim, quibus est vae, fragili

licet penna in altum volare nitentes, et in caelum os
suum ponentes creaturae, vel per partes, ut non dicam

10 omnes, ratione ante non collecta, primum de summa

profunditate immundo corde et impuro ore docere

praesumunt, non intellegentes quod non verbis sed fide

Deus Trinitas agnoscitur, qui cordis mundi pia fide et non
impii oris vaniloquiis intellegitur. Pie ergo credenda

15 est, et non impie discutienda est magna Trinitas;

quoddam enim insuperabile et investigabile pelagus est

Deus unus Trinitas. Altum caelum et lata terra et

profundum mare longaque saecula; sed altior et latior

ac profundior longiorque eius scientia, qui a natura

20 non ascematus est, qui eam ex nihilo creavit.

5-7.I Tim.1,7

5.0) Ideo-M ; ignorantes) ignorant-M 9.per) om. T

10. omnes) omnis-T; ante non) nondum (Bob. ante enim)-M

14. impii oris) impuris-M ; credenda) credendum-M

17. Deus unus) unus Deus-M 19. eius) est-TTi ; qui a)

scripsi, quia-TTi; scientia eius qui naturam ex nihilo
creavit.-M 20. non) scripsi, om. codd.; eam) ea-TTi

5. Intellege, si vis scire Creatorem, creaturam;
 si nec illam, tace de Creatore, sed crede in Creatorem.
 Melior est enim, et plus scit pietas tacens quam
 impia loquacitas; satis enim ineptum est et impium
 5 de fide transire ad tractantis invisibilem, inaeestimabilem,
 inconspicabilem Dominum vacua verba. Alta enim
profunditas, ut scriptum est, quis inveniet eam?
 Quia sicut maris profunditas ab humanis est visibus
 invisibilis, ita Trinitatis divinitas ab humanis
 10 similiter sensibus incomprehensibilis deprehenditur.
 Et ideo, si quis inquam scire voluerit quid credere
 debuerit, non putet se plus bene intellegere loquendo
 quam credendo; magis enim longe refugiet quaesita
 divinitatis sapientia quam erat. Quaere ergo scientiam
 15 summam non verborum disputatione sed morum bonorum
 perfectione, non lingua sed fide, quae de cordis
 simplicitate procedit, non quae de impietatis doctae
 coniectura colligitur. Si ergo tractationibus
 quaesieris ineffabilem, longius recedet a te magis
 20 quam erat; si fide, stabit, ubi deget, in portis

6-7. Eccles. 7, 25 19. Eccles. 7, 24 20-p. 94, 1. Prov. 1, 21

4-6. satis...verba) om. M 5. ad tractantis) attractantis-T
 6. Dominum) Deum-Ti ; enim) om. M 12. bene) pene-TTi
 16. quae) om. M

sapientia, et ubi versatur vel ex parte videbitur.
 Sed tunc in veritate etiam aliquatenus attingitur,
 quando invisibilis incomprehensibiliter creditur;
 Deus enim credendus est invisibilis ut est, licet ex
 5 parte a mundo corde videatur. Quamobrem ipsum ubique
 praesentem invisibilem Deum nostrum, fratres carissimi,
 deprecemur, ut vel fidei eius timor vel caritas, quae
nescit cadere, in nobis perseveret; qui timor iunctus
 caritati sapientes nos faciat in omnibus, et pietas
 10 nos silere de hoc quod dictu maius est suadeat, quia
 quoddam inscrutabile et inenarrabile est Deum quod
 est nosse. Qui est et quantus est, sibi soli notus
 est. Sed quia noster Deus est, invisibilis licet nobis,
 a nobis tamen pulsandus est, saepe pulsandus; semper
 15 tenendus est profundus Deus, immensus, secretus,
 excelsus, omnipotens Deus; et per sanctorum suorum
 merita et interventus orandus est, ut vel aliquam sui
 luminis particulam nostris tenebris largiatur, quae
 nobis stolidis et ignaris in via tenebrosa huius mundi
 20 luceat, ut nos ad se ducat, donante Domino nostro

1. Prov. 1, 21 7, 8 cf. I Cor. 13, 8

2. attingitur) atigitur-Ti 8. qui) quo-Ti 10. silere)
 libere-M ; dictu) dictum-T 12. Qui est) om. est-M

Iesu Christo, cui cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto est
gloria in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

Instructio II

1. Divinae profunditatis magnitudo emenso sermone
 praelibando quasi gustata est, et cum honore debito
 pulsata magis quam enarrata est, quia illud Dei
 ineffabile meditandum est magis quam eloquendum sit,
 5 et exceptis his quae aut Lex aut Prophetarum aut
 Evangelium aut Apostoli loquuntur, grande debet esse
 ab aliis de Trinitate silentium. Dei enim tantum de
 Deo, hoc est de seipso, credendum est testimonium,
 qui aut in Lege aut in Propheta aut in Evangelio aut
 10 in Apostolo aut in Spiritu cuique de se per se aut
 per angelum testimonium perhibuit. Ceterum disputatio
 seu ingenium humanum aut aliqua superba sapientia, quae
 vel mundi in ratione fallitur, de Deo magistra esse
 non potest, sed sacrilega et impia in Deum praesumenda
 15 est. Unde enim revera quaeso, fratres, illi vani et
 illi nimis mali et impii, qui vel seipsos ignorant,
 vel quod vivunt non sapiunt (ut non dicam opera cetera,
 quorum rationem vel minimam consequi non possunt)
 potuissent invisibilem Deum unum, Trinitatem
 20 coaeternam, omnia sub, super, in, extra amplectentem

codd. T, Ti, M

Tit.) Item Alia-TTi ; Epistola sive Sermo Secundus-M
 2. honore) seq. rasura in T 3. enarrata) enarrata-Ti
 4. meditandum) metendum-M 6. Evangelium) Evangelia-M
 8. seipso) ipso-T 10. Spiritu cuique) scripsi; spiritali
 quique-TTi; aut alias in spiritu de se-M 11. disputatio)
 in disputatione-M 12. seu) Dei-M 14. praesumenda)
 praesumendo-TTi 18. non) om. M 19. unum) om. M
 20. amplectentem) amplectantem-TTi

vel usque ad tractationis modum scire, ut non loquar
 definitionis de Deo finem? His itaque quasi
 inenarrabilibus cum debito honore silendis, de
 manifesta re et ineffabili Deo placita loqui incipiamus,
 5 non praesumentes ut alii, de quibus erubescendum est,
 de altioribus quaerere, iuxta illud Sapientis,
Altiora te ne quaesieris, sed potius de aedificatione
 animarum nostrarum sermocinantes; non primum nostrae
 parvitatis fundamenta iacere praesumimus, alicuius
 10 maioris doctoris auctoritatem quaerentes, sancti
 scilicet Fausti luculentissimam elegantissimamque
 doctrinam, de cuius dictis pauca ad initiandum opus
 nostrum satis convenienter elegimus, utpote qui de
 eisdem monitionibus, de quibus dicere cupimus, et nos
 15 viles licet commissos sibi docuit, et quasi tempore et
 merito et scientia me prior, quasi pro me impugnaturus
 ignaros quosque et ignavos prius loquatur.

2. Inquit: "Si ruris cultor et terrae agricola, qui
 agrum suum seminibus praeparat iactandis, non sibi
 20 sufficere putat terram ipsam forti vomere proscidisse

7. Ecclus. 3, 22

2. definitionis) difinitiois-Ti 3. inenarrabilibus)
 innarrabilibus-TTi 10. auctoritatem) authoritatem-M
 12. pauca) placita-M 14. eisdem) eiusdem-M 16. merito) meritis-
 M 18. Inquit) Inquid-T 20. proscidisse) proscindisse-TTi

- ac frequenti aratro duras edomuisse glebas, sed insuper
studet agrum ipsum infecundis graminibus emundare,
noxiiis evacuare ruderibus, spinarum ac stirpium
fomites excussos radice convellere, nequaquam credens
5 terram suam boni esse germinis futuram, nisi mali
graminis vacuam, ad se dictum putans illud propheticum,
Novate vobis novalia, et nolite seminare super spinas;
quanto magis nos oportet agrum cordis nostri noxiis
vitiorum passionibus emundare, et non sufficere
10 credamus nobis terram corporis nostri ieiuniorum et
vigiliarum labore conficere, nisi in primis studeamus
vitia corrigere, moresque componere, qui spem fructuum
non terrae credimus sed caelo repositam? Studeamus
ergo in primis vitia eradicare, virtutesque insinuare;
15 eradicemus superbiam, plantemus humilitatem, eruamus
iram, fundemus patientiam, excidamus invidiam,
insinuemus benevolentiam. Ceterum si caro conteratur
et anima non fructificet, sic est quasi arari campus
non desinat et numquam tamen messis appareat, aut si
20 quis statuat de foris auream, de intus luteam

7. Ier. 4, 3

4. excussos radice) excussas radices-M; excussas radice-Ti
10. et) ac-M 14. ergo) fratres add. T; insinuare) inserere-M
16. excidamus) excindamus-M

aedificaret. Quid enim prodest si extra civitatem bellum geratur et intus excidium patiatur?" Velut si quis extra vineam et in circuitu eius foderit, et intus incultam spinis ac tribulis relinquat. Quid ergo prodest exterioris hominis religio, si interioris quoque non adhibeatur emendatio? Fictus esse et latro potest, fictus et hypocrita est, quicumque aliud habitu ostendit, aliud moribus. Ne simus ergo tamquam sepulcra dealbata, de intus, non de foris, speciosi ac ornati apparere studeamus; vera enim religio non in corporis sed in cordis humilitate consistit. In quo enim alio Dominus habitat, nisi in veri humilis corde, iuxta illud Isaiae, Ad quem autem respiciam, aut cum quo requiescam, nisi super humilem et quietum et
 10 tremementem sermones meos? Quicumque ergo se habitaculum Dei effici voluerit, humilem et quietum se facere contendat, ut non verborum aviditate et corporis flexibilitate, sed humilitatis veritate, cognoscatur esse deicola; cordis enim bonitas non
 15 verborum fictis indiget religionibus. Vana est ergo
 20

9. Matt. 23, 27 13-15. Isai. 66, 2

2. Velut) veluti-M 5. si) scripsi ; nisi-TTiM 6. non) om. M
 9. de intus) de om. M 15. se) post Dei coll. M
 17. aviditate) ariditate-M 19. deicola) deicula-TTi

nutibus colorata corporis religio, vana similiter
 corporalis sola afflictio, et cassa hominis exterioris
 diligentia, nisi comitetur animi fructuosa temperantia.
 Quid prodest passiones impugnari a famulo, quae

5 inveniuntur pacem habere cum domino? Ideo ne forte
 sine fructu laboremus, liberari a vitiis operam Deo
 auxiliante demus, ut postea virtutibus ornari possimus.

Mundemus itaque nos quantum praevalemus ab omni
 vitiorum labe, a superbia primum, ab invidia, ab
 10 iracundia, a blasphemia, ab iniquitate, a malitia,
 a tristitia, a vana gloria, a cupiditate, a malignitate,
 ab omni amaritudine; ut humilitate et lenitate ac
 benignitate, mansuetudine, temperantia, misericordia,
 iustitia, laetitia, caritateque possideamur.

15 3. Sed quid facimus? Haec quasi similia recitamus,
 et quasi similiter innoxia, inculta ac indiscreta
 relinquimus. Legendo ea delectamur, expellendo
 dissolvimur. Numquid nos salvabit ea audire, quae
 intra nos comprobamur non habere? Numquid si semper
 20 nobis legantur, et numquam emendantur a nobis, crebra

1.nutibus)om.M ; religio)post ergo coll.T 2.corporalis)
 corporis-M 10.blasphemia)blapsemia-TTi 12.lenitate)
 linitate-T 15.similia)saepe add.T 17.delectamur)
 delectemur-T ; expellendo)expe'tendo-M 19.intra nos)
 vita-M 20.emendantur)emendentur-M

nos adiuuabit lectio eorum quae tarde a nobis
expelluntur? Numquid solo sermone quis suam domum
a quolibet squalore mundabit, aut sola loquela
pulverulentos aggeres immundi ruderis submovebit?

- 5 Aut numquid sine sudore vel quae ad vitam cottidianam
pertinent quis efficere potest? Patientia ergo et
diligentia et labor ac studium infatigabile, interioris
hominis nobis domum mundantibus, necessaria sunt, ut in
iniuriis patientiam, in religione diligentiam, in
10 operibus laborem, in profectibus studium demonstramus.
Crebro nobis praedicantibus tarde emendamur; crebro
offensi, raro patientes, crebro victi, raro victores,
crebro seducti, raro intellegentes sumus. Quid ergo
nobis quasi infirmis ac indoctis pugnatoribus, quibus
15 arma vertuntur in vulnera, subueniet, dum non haec
audire laus est sed complere? Non enim auditu lex
sanctificat, sed facto procul dubio; unusquisque non
verbis tantum et corporali labore, sed morum
maturitate et cordis puritate Dominum honoret. Nec
20 dicatur de nobis, Hic populus labiis me honorat, cor

20-p.102.1.Matt.15,8

1.nos)om. M 2.expelluntur)expetuntur-M ; quis)qui-T
11.emendamur)emundamur-M 16.laus est)post complere
coll. M

autem eorum longe est a me. Et quando audis pugnam,
 crede vulnera et fugas interesse; et dum unusquisque
 pacem possidere a septem gentibus hostilibus se
 impugnantibus non potest, tamdiu accinctus dimicare non
 cesset, donec septem gentium rex et rector Dei dono
 viriliter dimicando existat. Nullus enim coronatur
nisi qui legitime certaverit, et nemo legitime in primo
 certamine certat. Primum itaque certandum est, dein
 standum est, et in bello studendum est, ut postea
 legitime certandum sit. Utinam et nos legitime
 certaremus, ut et coronari mereremur; et sicut in
 eodem apparatu et sub iisdem armis sumus, ita cum
 hostibus nostris cottidie dimicaremus, ut non in
 nosmetipsos, sed in adversarios nostros tela torqueremus.
 Hoc longus bellandi usus cum Dei gratia praestabit,
 per Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum, cui est honor et
 gloria et virtus in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

1. Matt. 15, 8 6-7. II Tim. 2, 5

2. crede) et add. M 5. cessat-PTi 8. dein) deinde-M
 9. et in bello studendum est) om. M 10. certandum) certatum-M
 11. ut et) legitime add. M

Instructio IIIQualiter monachus Deo placere debet

1. Quid in mundo optimum est ? Auctori eius placere.
 Quid est eius voluntas ? Complere quod iussit, hoc est,
 recte vivere et pie aeternum quaerere; pietas enim et
 aequitas pii et recti voluntas est. Ad id quomodo
 5 pervenitur ? Studio. Studendum est ergo in pietate
 et aequitate. Ad hoc conservandum quid iuvat ?
 Intellectus, qui cetera alia eventilans, nihil cui
 inhaereat firmum inveniens, de his quae mundus habet,
 ad unum quod aeternum est ratione convertitur. Mundus
 10 enim transibit et cottidie transit et rotatur ad finem
 (quid enim habet quod fini non assignet ?) et
 quodammodo vanitatis columnis fulcitur. Quando autem
 vanitatis finis adfuerit, tunc ille cadet et non
 subsistet. Quod autem non finitur, de mundo non
 15 dicitur. Morte ergo et occasu omnia transeunt et non
 stant. Quid ergo sapiens diligere debet ? Mortuam
 imaginem ex parte mutam et ex parte sonoram, quam
 videt et non intellegit ? Si enim intellegeret,
 forsitan non diligeret; sed et in hoc offendit, in quo
 20 se non ostendit. Quis enim intellegit vel semetipsum

codd. R,T,Ti,D,M

Tit.)sol. in RD ; Item Tertia-Ti ; III-T ; Epistola sive
 Sermo Tertius-M 1.optimum)obtime-R ; est)om.M
 2.Complere)Conplacere-Ti 3.pie)plae-R 4.pii et
 recti)pia et recta-RD 5.in)om.R ; in pietate)impietate-T
 6.iuvat)vivat-R 7.eventilans)ventilans-D
 8.inhaereat)inherat-R, inerat-D, inhaeret-M ; firmum...
 habet)om.R 9.quod)in add. R ; est)om.R 9-10.Mundus
 ...rotatur)om.RD 11.fini)finem-RD ; et)om.RD
 13.cadet)cadit-RD 14.subsistet)subsistit-RD
 17.sonoram)onerosam-RD 19.non)om.RTTiD ; diligeret)
 diligere-T

vel alterum, florem terrae et terram de terra factum,
qua dignitate dei filium et caelicolam facit terra
et pulvis post modicum futurus, et nisi anima
mediante numquam profuturus ?

- 5 2. Si quis hoc intellegit, cui Deus donavit, qua
vita vivere oportet, ut aeternus sit de mortali, sapiens
de stolido, caelestis de terreno, primum sensum habeat
pulum quo utatur ad bene vivendum, et non quod est
sed quod erit videat. Id enim erit quod non est, et
10 per ea quae videt ea quae non videt cogitet, et
nitatur esse quod creatus est, et Dei gratiam suo
advocet conamine; impossibile est enim solum per se
unumquemque adipisci quod perdidit in Adam. Quid
autem prodest sensum accipere et non eo bene uti ?
15 Bene utitur ille qui sic vivit, ut numquam aut
paeniteat aut non paenituerit; paenitentia enim sera
male usum arguit, et bona conscientia vitam laudat.
Quid ergo sensus purus diligere sapit ? Illud certe
quod diligere et cetera omnia facit semperque manet
20 et numquam senescit. Nihil aliud extrinsecus

1.vel)et vel-R ; factum)facturam-D 2.caelicolam)
caeli caelum-R, coeli coelum-D, caeliculum-T, caeliculam-
Ti, coelicolam M 4.profuturus)futurus-D 7.habeat)habet-D
8.quod)quid-D 9.quod erit)quid erit-D 12.conamine)
conamini-Ti ; solum)om. RD 15.aut)non add.RD
16.non)om.M 17.male)malum-D 18.sensus purus)purus
sensus-D 19.et)om.RD ; cetera)om.D ; facit)fecit-TTiDM
20.extrinsecus)extrinsecum-M

diligendum est secundum veri rationem, nisi aeternum
 et aeterna voluntas, quae ab aeterno, mirabili,
 ineffabili, invisibili, incomprehensibili, omnia
 implente et omnia excedente, praesente et fugiente,
 5 inspiratur et animatur. Nihil hic sapiens diligere
 debet, quia nihil durat; aeterna enim illic cum
 aeterno et caduca hic cum mortali sunt. Periculosum
 est ergo habitare inter fallentia et falsa, et non
 vera videre quae debes amare, et videre insuper quae
 10 fugiendo provocant, et quasi in somnio te cum eis
 peccare persuadent, et (re odiosa) tibi blanditiis
 rident, et iure diligenda, ac si non essent, sic
 subducunt.

3. Constat ergo sollicitum esse debere eum qui
 15 inter fallentes habitat, velut qui non evadet, si non
 eos fugerit, cauteque se bene egerit. Nos quomodo
 fugiemus mundum, quem diligere non debemus, qui in
 mundo sumus, quique ei mori docemur; et e contrario
 eum intra nos quadam livida cupidine cludimus, quem
 20 sub pedibus quasi nostris conculcare debuimus.

1. secundum om. RD ; veri rationem) venerationi-R, veri
 ratione-D, rei rationem-M 3. invisibili) om. RD ;
 incomprehensibili) non comprehensibili-RD 4. implente)
 complente-D ; excedente) exigente-RD 6. debet) et add. R ;
 quia) quod-DM ; illic) illuc-RTiD 10. somnio te) summo te-R,
 somate-D 11. re odiosa) res otiosas-RD, re ipsa-M ; tibi)
 vel-R; blanditiis) blanditis-TTi 12. ac si) quasi-M ;
 essent) esse-R ; sic) se-T, sic se-RD, sed-TiM 14. esse
 debere) debere esse-M 15. evadet) evadit-R 16. fugerit-
 fugierit-R ; se) si-TiD, eras. M ; egerit) agerit-TTi
 17. fugiemus mundum) mundum fugiemus-D 18. quique) qui-RD
 19. livida) libida-T ; livida...cludimus) libidine
 concludimus-RD 20. quasi) om. D ; debuimus) debemus-RD

- Conculcat mundum qui seipsum vincit, qui vitis antequam
 natura, mente quam corpore, moritur; nemo enim
 sibi metipsi parcens mundum odire potest; in se enim
 solo mundum aut diligit aut odit. Nihil habet quod
 5 amet de mundo, qui corporis voluptatibus mortuus est.
 Tali morte moriamur, quia mors illa corporalis
 cunctos, ista paucos tenet. Paucorum enim sic vivere
 quasi mortui cottidie; et dum non semper fuit nec
 semper esse potest in mundo, sed in quadam brevissima
 10 aetate deget, unusquisque sic vivere debet quasi
 cottidie moriatur, ut aeternae tantum et caelestis, in
 quibus si meruerit aeternus et caelestis futurus sit,
 huius mortis dubius cogitet. Quae enim ante mundum
 fuerant, ipsa erunt et post mundum et in perpetuum,
 15 et adhuc sunt, sed non apparent, et a nobis in tantum
 celata sunt, ut non liceat ea loqui hominibus; in
cor enim aut in aures hominis non ascendunt neque
intrant neque humano visu perspicui queunt. O quam
 dolenda conditio! Quae amare debuimus, sic ea nobis
 20 sequestrata et incomperta et ignota sunt, ut quamdiu

16-18. I Cor. 2, 9

2. quam) antequam-M 3. sibi metipsi) semetipsi-RTT1 ;
 parcens) parens-D ; in se) ipse-RD 4. solo) solus-RD ;
 mundum) mundus-R ; odit) audit-D ; quod amet) quodam modo-D
 5. corporis) sui add. RD ; voluptatibus) voluntatibus-RT
 7. ista) haec-M ; tenet) post cunctos coll. RD ; enim) est
 add. DM ; sic) om. D 8. mortui) mori-DM ; non) in mundo-R
 9. semper) om. M ; potest) poterit-RD ; in mundo) in hoc mundo-M
 sed) quasi-D ; brevissima aetate) scripsi, brevitatem-RD,
 brevi medietate-T, brevi medietate-TIM 10. deget) degit-RD,
 debet-M ; debet) om. M 11. moriatur) moriretur-Ti, moreretur-
 DM 15. et a) et-R, quia-D 16. celata) caelata-R ; ut) et-R ;
 liceat) licet-RTT1 17. aures) aure-R, aurem-D ;
 ascendunt) ascendit-R 18. neque) nec-M ; humano... queunt)
 humanam super speciem eunt-RD 19. sic) si-M, ea) a-RD TT1

homines sumus et in hoc corporis ergastulo constituti,
 omnino nobis impossibilia sunt videri, audiri,
 cogitari ea quae vere bona sunt et aeterna. Quid
 ergo faciemus ? Vel ignota amemus et quaeramus, ne forte
 5 in perpetuum ea ignoremus et perdamus; sine causa
 enim natus est, qui illa perpetua in perpetuum ignorabit
 et illa aeterna in aeternum nesciet. O te miserum
 hominem ! Quod vides debes odire, et quod amare te
 convenit ignoras. Laqueus tibi tua vita, irretiris,
 10 velis nolis; in te habes quo compediris, in te non
 habes quo solveris. Cavebisne te, miser, in tequo ne
 confides, qui a te laquearis, nec a te solveris ?
 Oculos habens caecus ligaris, libensque morti duceris.

4. O intolerabilis caecitas ! O dolor
 15 incomparabilis ! O infelicissima miseria ! Qui
 favet adversariis, qui libenter se tradit persecutoribus
 sibi numquam parcentibus, qui se alligantibus et
 morti tradentibus gaudens consentit. Quis unquam
 laetus ad mortem pergit ? Quis ad iugulandum vel
 20 ad decollandum libens ducitur ? Vae tibi, humana

1.hoc)om.RD ; ergastulo)aergastulo-T 2.omnino)
 omnia-D ; audiri)om.R 3.vere)vera-T 5.in perpetuum
 ea)ea in perpetuum-RD 6.perpetua)et add.M 7.nesciet)non
 scit-RD 9.tibi)est-RD ; tua vita)vita tua-R
 10.compediris)compedieris-R ; non)om.D 11.solveris)
 solvaris-R, salvaris-D ; cavebisne te)cave-RD ;
 teque)te-RDM ; ne)non-D 13.caecus)caecos-RD
 18.gaudens)gaudet-R 19.laetus ad mortem)ad mortem
 laetus-RD ; vel)aut-M 20.ad)om.M ; decollandum)
 immolandum-RD

- miseria ! Utinam tantum iugulareris vel decollareris
et non in aeternum cruciareris. Quid te caecius, O
misera humanitas ! Quae sic erras videns, licet
vides usque ad caelum, non ultra; citra caelum sapis,
5 ultra caelum non sapis. Dura incompungibilisque
ignorantia, quis tibi narrabit inenarrabilia ?
Infelix humanitas, quid tibi subveniet ? Audi quid
sapiens dixit, Cui pauca non sufficiunt, plura non
proderunt. Audisti, credo, Dominum in Evangelio
10 dicentem, Ite maledicti in ignem aeternum. Et propter
quid, scis, itur in ignem ? Miser homo, esto
misericors, forte a filio perditionis te sic abstrahere
poteris; ne parcas cibo, ne fragili parcas vestimento,
ne tibi tua praeferas. Plus te ames quam tua, plus
15 animam quam res tuas; tumet enim tantum es miser et
non tuae res, plus temet amare debes quam aliena. Quid
enim tuum est, praeter animam ? Noli ergo unicam tuam
perdere pro nihilo. Ne parcas caducis, ne aeterna
perdas; alienus tibi totus mundus est, qui nudus natus
20 nudus sepeliris. O irremediabilis dementia ! Quid

10.Matt.25,41

2.caecius)citius-RD 3.videns)fidens-M
5.incompungibilisque)incompingibilisque-R, inconpungebilisque
T, et incompungibilis-D, incomparabilisque-M
6.inenarrabilia)inennarabilia-R, innarabilia-TT1 7.quid
tibi)quis tibi-R 8.plura)plurima-R, multa-D 10.ignem)om.R
11.quid)quod-D ; ignem)aeternum add.M 15.animam)tuam add.M ;
tuas)om.RD ; tumet...res)om.RD ; tumet)tuimet-TT1;et)om.M
16.plus)cum plus-M ; temet)tua-RD ; debes)debeas-M
17.enim)ergo-D ; unicam)tunicam-R, animam-M 19.alienus)
alienum-M ; natus)es add.R 20.sepeliris)repelleris-RD ;
Quid)qui-M

- alienum caducum tanto amore diligis, ut aeternum
 proprium in aeternum perdas ? Cogita itaque mortem,
 quae finem dat mundi voluptatibus, et vide quo amoena
 divitum abiit laetitia. Luxus, iocus, libido, luxuria
 5 conticuerunt, et cadaver nudum, vermibus et putredine
 dissolvendum, limus suscipit, miserrima anima poenis
 aeternis reddita. Quid hac conditione lacrimabilius ?
 Quid hac miseria infelicius ? Qui usque ad corruptionem
 et interitum perpetuum huius vitae vana sectatur.
 10 Vere melior fuit unius horae patientia, quam aeterni
 temporis sera paenitentia. Time ergo citra caelum
 mortem, ultra caelum ignem aeternum; hoc quod vides,
 illud quod non vides, sed tamen credis ei qui vidit.
 Verax enim est Dominus noster Iesus Christus, cui
 15 honor et gloria in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

2.in aeternum)om.RD 3.voluptatibus)voluntatibus-Ti ;
 quo)quot-D 4.abiit)habuit-D ; luxuria)luxoria-T
 5.conticuerunt)conticuere-M 6.dissolvendum)disolvendum-T ;
 suscipit)suscepit-RDM 8.corruptionem)correptionem-R
 10.melior)melius-RD ; unius horae)om.RD ; patientia)
 poenitentiam-T 12.mortem...caelum)om.RD ; vides)om.D
 13.illud quod)illum-D ; credis)credes-RD 14.enim)om.D,
 post est coll.RM ; cui)est add.RD 15.Amen)om.T

Instructio IV

1. Omnis disciplina, iuxta Apostolum, in praesenti
videtur non esse gaudii sed meroris; postea vero
iucundum fructum placidumque mercedis foenus his qui
per eam exercitati sunt reddit. Quid enim revera hic
5 sine merore vel labore discitur in tempore vel maximae
stoliditatis et fragilitatis nostrae? Si vero
temporalia disciplinarum genera praesentis gaudii
suavitatem adimunt, quid de hac nostrae scholae
disciplina sperandum est? Quae etiam disciplina
10 disciplinarum est, quaeque aeterni temporis iucunditatem
et aeterni gaudii amoenitatem praesenti merore comparat.
Quod enim est disciplinae genus quod castigationis
merore careat? Quantum tristitiae vel meroris in
artificiis fabrilibus inest? Quantum laboris? Quantum
15 industriae fabricantibus vel etiam aedificantibus
imminet? Quantis verberibus, quibus doloribus
musicorum discentes imbuuntur? Quantisve fatigationibus
vel quantis meroribus medicorum discipuli vexantur?
Qualibus vero inquietudinibus sapientiae amatores,
20 vel quantis paupertatis angustiis philosophi coartantur?

1-4. Heb. 12, 11

cod. Tit.) IIII Item-T, Item quarta-Ti, Epistola
sive Sermo Quartus-M 3. placidumque) placitumque-Ti
4. sunt) om. M; reddit) reddet-M 5. merore vel labore) labore
vel merore-M 9. etiam disciplina) rasura seq. in Ti
13. in) om. M 17. musicorum) musicarum-Ti 20. philosophi)
filosofi-T, philosophi-Ti; coartantur) coarctantur-M

Postremo quentis periculis gubernacula appetuntur ?

In quibus omnibus post licet innumerabilium miseriarum labores pacatissimus finis patienter exspectatur, cuius consideratione supra dictae calamitates, licet non sine
5 merore, licet cum multa amaritudine, tolerantur.

Etenim si cum merore disciplina comitatur, finis tamen eius in laetitia agit, et labor in securitate versatur, et mirum in modum pro laetitia tristitia, pro

suavitate amaritudo, pro securitate labor, pro quiete

10 inquietudo patientissime toleratur. Licet enim

ignorant si ad cuiusque disciplinae finem perveniant,

tamen vel pro incerta spe futuri gaudii praesentem

merorem sustinent non aspernantes, et durum laborem

non segniter assequuntur. Quis enim eorum certus est

15 si vel magister illius umquam disciplinae cuius

laborem sustinet futurus sit ? Vel si huius gaudii

pro quo merorem tolerat particeps existat ?

2. Quod si itaque pro temporalibus et incertis tanta et talia infatigabiliter tolerantur, quid nos
20 pro aeternis et veris certisque sustinere debemus,

3. exspectatur) expectatur-TiM 11. ignorant) ignorent-M ;
perveniant) pervenient-M 13. sustinent) in sustinere corr. M ;
aspernantes) aspernantur-TiM -aspernantes-TiM ; et durum...
assequuntur) om. M ; durum) dum-Ti 14. assequuntur)
exsequuntur-T, adsecuntur-Ti 15. umquam) aliquando-M
19. nos) vel-M

quorum finis aeternus est ? Etenim si incertum est
 apud temporalium disciplinarum appetitores, quanto
 tempore adepta disciplina frui eis licebit, nulla
 tamen segnitia eam sequendi dissolvuntur, et sic
 5 dupliciter dubii nobis pertinaciores sunt, qui si
 ad disciplinae finem perveniant, ut dixi, incerti,
 pro vitae scilicet incerto et sensus otoliditate,
 nihilominus adepta disciplina denuo dubitant quam
 longe eadem utantur. Quanto enim incerti de perfuncta,
 10 tanto certi de emittenda in brevi disciplina sunt.
 Temporalia ergo, ut diximus, studia, et defectiva
 ingenia, merores ac tristitias, angustias ac labores,
 pericula ac peregrinationes, iniurias ac fatigationes,
 cum quidem apud illos constat incerta esse et fragilia
 15 haec pro quibus tantae calamitates sustentantur,
 tolerant; nostrae scholae disciplina si tribulationes habeat,
 si molestias, si merores, si amaritudines habeat,
 mirabitur, fugienda putabitur ? Nonne sine disciplina
 aliqua perfecta magistratio aut aliqua militia
 20 acquiri impossibile est ? Aut disciplina sine

5. dubii nobis) nobis dubii-M ; qui si) scripsi, quasi-TT1M
 8. dubitant) dubitabant-T 9. perfuncta) perfecta-M
 13. fatigationes) defatigationes-M 14. constat) constat-M
 18. mirabitur) eras, M 19. magistratio) magistratus-M ;
 aut) ut-M 20. impossibile) scripsi, possibile-TT1M

amaritudine adipisci queat ? Cum haec ergo ita se
 habeant, praeparemus animum, non ad laetitiam, non ad
 securitatem, ut Sapiens ait, sed ad tentationes et
 tribulationes, ac tristitias atque labores. Christus
 5 tribulatus est, iniuriatus, contumeliatus, passus est;
 et tu in terra securitatem putas ? Vide et intellege
 quam difficile est vinci saeculum, dum non aliter, nisi
 Christi morte, sanctus de eo liberatur. Si vix iustus
sic salvatur, peccator et impius ubi parebit ? Audi
 10 Dominum dicentem discipulis, In mundo pressuram
habebitis, et iterum, Vos autem flebitis et lugebitis,
mundus autem gaudebit et vos tristes eritis.

3. Vide merorem disciplinae nostrae, intellege
 quod non de laetitia ad laetitiam neque de securitate
 15 ad securitatem, sed de luctu ad laetitiam ac de
 tribulatione ad securitatem transitur. Patienter ergo
 tolerandus est brevis meror, ut aeterna acquiratur
 laetitia; et Leve tribulationis nostrae cum alacritate
sustinendum est, ut aeternam immensae gloriae vitam
 20 apprehendamus. Si enim pro caducis rebus haec, ut

2-3. Ecclus. 2, 1 8-9. I Pet. 4, 18 10-11. Ioan. 16, 33
 11-12. ib. 20 18-20. II Cor. 4, 17

5. passus) pasus-T 6. intellege) fratres add. T
 8-10. Si vix....discipulis) om. M

diximus persaepe, accidunt et non vincunt, quid nos
 regnorum caelestium negotiatores fatigabit aut vincet ?
 Nullis laetis vel tristibus, blandis vel amaris
 cedere debemus; utrisque enim mundus plenus est, et
 5 utraque dux belli nostri vincit. Et videamus quam
 periculose immundus cedit his quibus mundus et
 immaculatus non cessit; cum Christo respiciamus mundi
 honores, et Diaboli regna cum omni gloria eorum.
 Quicquid diaboli est dedignemur accipere, eique
 10 brevis laetitiae regi dicamus, Tua sint tecum in
perditionem. Tristes simus usque ad mortem cum
 Christo, Ut tristitia nostra in gaudium convertatur.
 Rideat mundus cum diabolo, absit a nobis eorum
 laetitia; si volumus gaudere nunc, ex parte gaudeamus
 15 in spe, verum gaudium postea habituri in re, tristes
 pro peccatis nostris, laeti propter spem vitae aeternae,
 tristes propter Christi absentiam, exultantes
 similiter, quia legimus, videbimus eum sicuti est.
 Licet enim praesentium miseriarum meroribus repleamur,
 20 licet peccatorum nostrorum frequentia tristificemur,

8.cf.Matt.4,8 10-11.Act.8,20 11.cf.Matt.26,38
 12.cf.Ioan.16,20 18.I.Ioan.3,2
 2.regnorum)regnum-T ; vincet)vicet-Ti 3.amaris)amicis-M
 4.cedere)caedere-T 6.cedit)caedit-TTi
 7.cessit...respiciamus)cessit cum Christo. Despiciamus-M
 8.diaboli)diabuli-T 11.perditionem)perditione-TiM
 17.exultantes)exultantes-T 20.tristificemur)
 tristificamur-T

- victoria tamen utrorumque liberalis laetitia et
nobile gaudium est; et licet pro tempore Peregrinemur
a Domino ut pro brevis temporis bello in aeternum
coronemur, nimium tristes esse non debemus, scientes
5 mox esse ad eum nos ituros, et cum eo semper mansuros.
Ad hoc enim nos creavit, ut cum eo semper regnantes,
eum in saecula saeculorum laudemus, et gratias ei
agere perseveremus. Haec ergo scientes nullis laboribus,
nullis tribulationibus deficiamus, nullis meroribus
10 vincamur, nullis bellis fatigemur, nullis disciplinarum
anxietatibus destituamur, nullis rursum deliciis
dissolvamur, nullis blanditiis decipiamur, et ut
Apostoli voce dicamus, nullus nos, nihil nos A Christi
caritate separet, nulla tribulatio, nulla angustia,
15 nulla persecutio, nulla fames, nulla nuditas, nullum
periculum, nulla vel mors gladii, ignis, crucis, necis,
nihil triste, nihil suave, nihil durum, nihil blandum,
nihil mundi vanorum nos a Christo separet, ut ei hic
et in aeterna saecula haereamus saeculorum. Amen.

2-3. II Cor. 5,6 13-16. Rom. 8,35-9

2. peregrinemur) peregrinamur-T 5. mansuros) permansuros-T
7. eum) om. M 12. ut) cum-M 16. nulla vel) nullave-M
18. vanorum) utrorum-TT1

Instructio V

I.O tu vita humana, fragilis et mortalis,
 quantos decepisti, quantos seduxisti, quantos
 excaecasti ! Quae dum fugis nihil es, dum videris
 umbra es, dum exaltaris fumus es, quae cottidie
 5 fugis et cottidie venis, veniendo fugis quae
 fugiendo venis, dissimilis eventu, similis ortu,
 dissimilis luxu, similis fluxu, dulcis stultis, amara
 sapientibus. Qui te amant non te sciunt, et qui
 te contemunt ipsi te intellegunt. Ergo non es vera
 10 sed fallax; te ostendis tamquam veram, te reducis
 quasi fallacem. Quid ergo es, humana vita ? Via
 es mortalium et non vita, a peccato incipiens usque
 ad mortem perseverans; vera enim esses si te
 peccatum primae transgressionis humanae non inter-
 15 rupisset, et tunc cassabunda et mortalis devenisti,
 cum omnes tuos viatores morti assignasti. Via ergo
 es ad vitam, non vita (vera enim non es); via, sed non
 plana, aliis longa, aliis brevis, aliis lata, aliis
 angusta, aliis laeta, aliis tristis, omnibus similiter
 20 festinans, et irrevocabilis. Via es, via, sed non

codd. H, T, Ti, K, G, E, M

Tit.) Incipit Epistola Scti -bani Abbatis de Incertitudine
 (?) mortalium Vit(ae)-H, V-T, Item V-Ti, Incipit(GE) Ep-
 istola Scti Columban Abbatis-KGE, Epistola sive Sermo
 Quintus-M I.humana...mortalis)om.TTiKGEM

2-3.quantos excaecasti)om.K ; seduxisti...excaecasti)excae-
 casti...seduxisti-GE 3-4.dum videris umbra es)om.KE
 4.exaltaris)stas-KGE 5.quae)et-E 6.eventu)aeventu-G ;
 ortu)astu-M 8.et)om.M 9.vera)verax-TEM 10.tamquam)quasi-
 KGE ; veram)veracem-H, vera-K 11.Via)Vita-K 12.et)om.G ;
 incipiens)et add.E 13.perseverans)om.TTiGM, perducis-K,
 usque perdureris-E 14.transgressionis)transgransionis-T
 17.vitam)et add. TTiGM ; vita)lacuna hoc loco in K ; enim
 non)enim-HKEM 18.plana)plena-KGE 20.es,via)es, inquam,
 via es-TTiKGEM

omnibus manifesta es; multi enim te vident, et pauci
te viam esse intellegunt. Sic enim subtilis es et
sic seductrix, ut paucorum sit te scire viam.

Interroganda ergo es et non credenda nec vindicanda,
5 transeunda, non habitanda, misera humana vita; nullus
enim in via habitat sed ambulat, ut qui ambulent in
via, habitent in patria.

2. Quare ergo tu, mortalis vita, habitaris,
diligaris, vindicaris a stultis et a perditis,
10 contemneris a sensatis, caveris a salvandis. Timenda
itaque es, humana vita, et multum cavenda, quae sic
fugitiva es, sic lubrica, sic periculosa, sic brevis,
sic incerta, ut quasi umbra aut imago aut nubes aut
nihil aut inane dissolvaris. Dum ergo nihil es, o
15 mortalis vita, nisi via, imago fugitiva aut inanis ut nubes,
incerta et fragilis ut umbra, ut somnium, sic per te
iter agendum est tam sollicite, tam caute, tam
expedite, ut viatorum more ad veram patriam omnibus
intellegentibus festinandum sit, de transacto securis,
20 de eo quod restat sollicitis. Nihil enim tibi prodest

1.es)om.H 2.es)om.H
4.vindicanda)vendicanda-TE 7.patria)via-H
9.vindicaris)vendicaris-E ; diligeris, vindicaris)bis scr.TIM
; a stultis)ab stultis-H, astutes-K, astuta es-GE ;
et)om.HKGE ; a...perditis)a perditis a stultis-TTi
10.caveris)caventis-H ; Timenda)Et timenda-E
12.fugitiva)fatigata-M 13.ut)om.G ; nubes)nubs-HTTi,
nubis-K 14.dissolvaris)dissolveris)HTTiKGE 15.mortalis)
mortali(s eras.)-K ; nisi)sive-T ; via)viae-Ti,om.M ;
aut)om.TTiM ; inanis)ut avis-TTi ; ut)aut-HKGE, et-M ;
nubes)nubs-HTTiK 16.ut umbra)et umbra-HKGE ; ut somnium)et
somnia-KGEM, ut somnum-H ; per)in-H 17.est)om.H ;
tam expedite)om.H 18.more)mortem-KE 19.transacto)
transactis-KGE ; securis)securus-HTTiKGE 20.sollicitis)
sollicit'-K, sollicitus-HTTiGE

ascendere quod ascenderis, nisi quod restat evaseris;
 via enim et ascensus quidam putanda est vita haec.
 Ne quaeramus in via quod in patria futurum est;
 labor enim et fatigatio in itinere versatur, in
 5 patria requies et securitas paratur. Cavendum est
 itaque nobis, ne forte per viam securi simus, et ad
 veram nostram patriam non perveniamus. Sunt enim
 revera nonnulli in hoc itinere ita securi ut non tam
 in via quam in patria esse videantur; et non tam
 10 voluntarii quam invitati eunt ad patriam nimirum iam
 perditam. Hic enim in via perusi sunt patria, et de
 brevi vita aeternam mortem mercati sunt. Infelices
 de frustrato commercio laeti sunt; aliena caduca
 dilexerunt, et propria aeterna neglexerunt. Quapropter
 15 quamvis sint laeta, quamvis blanda, quamvis sint
 speciosa, aliena terrena devitemus, ut propria aeterna
 non perdamus; fideles in alienis inveniamur, ut in
 propriis ac nostris heredes efficiamur, donante
 Domino nostro Iesu Christo, qui vivit et regnat in
 20 saecula saeculorum. Amen.

2.putanda)putandus-H ; vita haec)via haec-TT1
 3.Ne quaeramus)Non queramus-HTKE ; quod in)quo-K
 4.versatur)versantur-G ; 5.patria)enim add.H ; requies
 et)requiescit ubi-KGE 6.itaque nobis)nobis itaque-H
 7.nostram)post patriam coll.H 8.ita)desides-M om.KGETT1 ;
 ut)praem. desides, libidi-TT1, liberi-M 10.eunt)eant-M
 11.perusi)pervisi-H, praeusi-TIM ; patria)patriam-H
 12.brevi vita)brevitate-H ; aeternam)om.GE 13.laeti)
 lati-K 14.et)om.M 15.quamvis (10))quam(rasura)K
 quamvis (30) quamvisi-T ; sint (20)sunt-T, om.H
 16.speciosa)ut add.H 17.ut in)ut-KGE 18.ac)om.H 18-9.
 donante...Christo)per eum-H 19.qui...regnat)cui
 gloria-TTIM, qui...regit-KE 19-20. in...Amen)om.H
 20.saecula saeculorum)seculorum secula-M

Instructio VI

1. Donante Domino de humana vita diximus, quod
 viae similitudo est, in qua unusquisque iter ad
 aeterna agens de alienis cupiditatibus securus, quasi
 viatici tantum paupertate contentus esse debeat, ut
 5 nullis haerens illecebris terrena cuncta sibi esse
 aliena intellegat. Nunc umbram esse eandem, ut ante
 iam diximus, ostendamus vitam. Non tibi videtur
 umbra esse et imago vita hominis super terram, quae
 sic est dubia, quamdiu sit, et incerta, ut res umbrae
 10 aequetur ? Vides enim et non vides, ipsa nec ipsa;
 dicamus, quod fuit non vides, quod erit nec ipsum
 videre potes. Vides tantum quod est, quamdiu stat;
 tolle quod est, nihil vides; sic est invisibilis ac si non
 esset; ergo umbram videt unusquisque vitam suam, et
 15 a mane usque ad vespere, quasi in quodam speculo,
 vanitatem suae vitae circumspicit. Sed quamlibet alia
 similia tantum in somniis videt; similiter enim falsa
 pro veris speculatur, et pro veri imagine vanis
 illuditur. Quid enim, rogo, interest quod hesterno
 20 vidi et hac nocte somniavi ? Nonne hodie similiter

codd. TTiM

Tit.) VI-T, Item VI-Ti, Epistola sive Sermo Sixtus-M
 9. est) scripsi, om. TTiM ; quamdiu sit) quae sic-M ; res)
 recte-M 12. quamdiu) quod diu-M 13. tolle) tale-M ;
 ac si) quasi-M 16. quamlibet) quaelibet-M
 17. tantum) tamen-T 18. veris) certis-M 20. vidi) die-M ;
 et hac) ac-T, aut-M ; somniavi) in somniaveris corr. M

vana esse tibi videntur ? Etenim utique me non plus
 satiant pro veris quae videndo fugiunt, quam quae
 somniando illudunt; utraque enim vana esse invenio.
 Quod enim sum non fui, et non ero, et unaquaque hora
 5 aliud sum, et nunquam sto. Semper enim curro a die
 nativitatis usque ad diem mortis, et per singulos dies
 vitae meae mutor, et quaecumque mutantur vel quomodo
 mutantur non video; et totam simul in uno vitam meam
 numquam videre possum, et quod heri fui, hodie non
 10 sum, sic quod hodie sum cras non ero; et sic semper
 mobilis et nutabundus per cetera vitae meae spatia
 ero, ut de momento in momentum, de momentis in horas,
 de horis in dies, cum incertis aetatis meae spatiis
 concurram ad mortem, ut ibi videam certa et vera, et
 15 tota simul in uno, quod hic mihi impossibile est.

2. O me miserum ! si ibi vitam non videro, quam
 numquam veram video; veram enim esse ibi eam necesse
 est, ubi aeternitas agit. Fuge ergo, fuge, o tu vitae
 mortalis umbra; fuge tu nos et nos te; tu fuge ut facis;
 20 semper enim fugis ut cito vera vita veniat; nos te, ne

1.vana)certa-M 10.sic quod)si quod-T
 11.nutabundus)mutabundus-M 16.videro)video-M
 17.enim)om.T

nos decipias, fugiamus; tardos enim blandis decipere
 soles impedimentis. Fuge, inquam, et festina quae
 multos seduxisti, et nos seducere instas, et alios
 post nos seduces et morti assignabis. O quam caeca
 5 es tu, quam seducens, incerta vita ! Me exspectas
 ut rapias, me provocas ut suadeas, me rogas ut seducas,
 me suades ut decipias. Quis tam insipiens est ut
 te credat, quae decipis amantes et seducis credentes ?
 Qui enim te diligunt decepti sunt, et qui te credunt
 10 seducti sunt; qui autem te neglegunt ditati sunt, et
 qui te fugiunt salvati sunt. Deum quæserunt qui te
 contemnunt. Fugiamus itaque nos te antequam tu nos;
 et quia tu mortalis, brevis, caduca, incerta, instabilis,
 mobilis, mutabilis, convertibilis es, nos Dei et
 15 vitae aeternae amatores et negotiatores potius quam
 tui nos habeamur, et te fluentem et fugientem fugiamus,
 ne nos cum tuis amatoribus vindices. Fugiendum est
 enim nobis quod fugit, et sic in eo vivendum est, quasi
 cottidie moriendum esset. Quid enim interest nobis
 20 hodie sive cras mori ? Dum enim mori nobis necesse

3.seduxisti)duxisti-TT1 ; seducere)ducere-TT1

4.seduces)deduces-TT1 13.tu)tam-M

16.nos)scripsi, om.M, non-TT1 ; habeamur)habeas-TT1

20.mori nobis)nobis mori-M

est, sic nobis est mors considerata quasi iam diu
 praeteriret; et dum nihil durat ante mortem, festinandum
 est ad mortem, ut possimus vera aeterna videre post
 mortem. Quamobrem non tardandum est, sed festinandum
 5 est de umbra imaginatae vitae ad veritatem verae vitae.
 Et quia alia via vitae carnalis, alia via profectus
 spiritualis, currat animus profectibus, sicut vita
 cursibus, et ita animi augeatur maturitas, ut aetatis
 plenitudo; et sicut vitae circuli minuuntur, sic
 10 vitiorum numerus decreascit, ut cum saeculo sua
 relinquamus, et nihil de eius moribus nobiscum feramus
 ad Dominum, praestante Domino nostro Iesu Christo, cui
 gloria in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

2.praeteriret)praeterierit-M
 9.circuli)curriculi-M

5.est)om.T

Instructio VII

1. O te caecam insaniam, O te caecam foveam,
 humanam voluntatem, quae accepta celas et data non
 reddis ! Frustra placaris, quae ingrata pascoris,
 frustra voras, quae sic importuna censum tuae
 5 voracitatis exigis. O pertusata sanguisuga impatiens,
 immitis saturata, blanda ieiuna, vorax, inverecunda,
 edax, quid habes recti, quid honesti ? Nihil. Quae
 frustrata quaeris, quae vituperata iteras, quae turpia
 ornas, quare te ipsam non consideras, O misera
 10 humanitas, intus putridam, felle, humore, liquore,
 sanguine, flegmate plenam, foris vero pellem lavatam,
 sed numquam tamen mundatam ? Semper enim de intimo
 immunditiae caeno coinquinaris, pollueris; licet
 cottidie lavararis, cottidie violaris. O pullatam
 15 pellem, frustra lavararis, quae natura immunda es. O
 inversam caecitatem, quod lavas, quod ornas, natura
 putredo; quod autem violas et polluis, natura nitor.
 Quid munda coinquinas et immunda lavas, quae animam
 corrumpis et corpus ornas ? Satiene te diligis, an
 20 satis te ignoras ? Si enim te scis, quare horrida et

codd. TTim

Tit.) VII-Ti, Item Septimam Incipit-T, Epistola sive
 Sermo Septimus-M 2. celas) caelas-T

4. frustra) frusta-Ti 5. exigis) exigas-TTi

6. saturata) caducata-M 7. edax) aedax-TTi

10. putridam) putrida-M 11. flegmate) phlegmate-M ; plenam)

plena-M 12. mundatam) habens add. M 14, 15. cottidie violaris..

lavararis) om. M ; pullatam) pullutam-Ti

immunda flegmatis et stercoris domicilia diligis ?
 Si videris in vestimento tuo immunditiam, si flegmata
 horrescis et aspectum retro torques, et te in tuis
 vestimentis immundum sterquilinum et olidum ac
 5 putridum volutabrum non fugis, non detestaris ? Non
 vides quid tua fistulata pellis per sua foramina foetat ?
 Pudet referre quod amare non pudet. Quare horrida
 non horrescimus ? Quare pudenda non detestamur ? Quare
 foetida non fugimus ? Nonne quia non sapimus, et
 10 quia mundi non sumus ? Ideo immundus immunda quaerit,
 et turpia turpis, et inhonesta inhonestus; et quia
 caeci, inhonesti sumus, idcirco nulla inverecunda
 declinamus. Si enim caeci non sumus, quare nosmetipsos
 primum nostra immunditia non despiciamus ? Quare nos
 15 vel nostra inverecundia vel nostra turpitudine non
 contemnimus ? Nonne turpia esse honesta tibi non
 videntur ? Quae crebris lumentis et ornatibus variis
 indigent, et ingrata suis non satiantur impendiis, et
 satiata non iuvant futuris; et transacta voluntas
 20 praesentem non satiat, nec futuram repellit.

1.flegmatis)phlegmatis-M 2.flegmata)phlegmata-M
 3.retro torques)retorques-M 4.sterquilinum)sterquilium-
 Ti 5.putridum)putritum-Ti 6.foetat)foetate-Ti,
 foveat-M 7.horrida)lurida-M 12.inverecunda)
 verecunda-Ti 14.primum)vel add.M ; nostra immunditia)
 nostram immunditiam-M 15.vel nostra)nostramve-Ti, vel
 nostram-M ; inverecundia)inverecundiam-TiM ; nostra
 turpitudine)nostram turpitudinem-TiM 17.lumentis)
 in lavamentis corr.M

2. In vanum ergo laborat qui talia pascit, et in
 ventum seminat qui vanae voluntati huic servit, ubi
 expensum non expedit servitium. Esuriant itaque ista
 quae sic ingrata, sic molesta sunt, ut semper esurire
 5 videantur. Qui ista pascunt se ipsos decipiunt. O
 inhonesta servitus qua carni fruitur ! O dura, O
 inexorabilis, O fera, licet domestica, dominatio, quae
 cottidie solvitur et cottidie exigitur, sub die vadit
 et venit, saturata exit, esuriens redit ! Vae his qui
 10 hic pascuntur, ubi fames dominatur, nec divitiis
 vincitur, et dum haec solvuntur, alia exiguntur. Reddo
 enim prima, secunda cogaris exsolvere; gulam pasce,
 libidinem exigeris. Cum Susanna ergo clamandum est,
Angustiae mihi undique, et cum Paulo ciulandum est
 15 et dicendum est, Infelix ego homo, quis me liberabit
de corpore mortis huius ? Si necessaria solvas, non
 necessaria reddere cogaris. Si ergo, misor homo,
 secunda reddere times, prima nega si potes; si non,
 parce redde, avaro exsolve, nihil nisi invitus
 20 exsolvas, nihil libenter dones. Sed non potes; video,

14. Dan. 13, 22 15-6. Rom. 7, 24

2. voluntati huic) huic voluntati-M 6. carni) carne-M
 7. dominatio) domestica-T 9. exit) exiit-TTi ; Vae) Ecce-M
 11. haec) sola add. T 14. est) om. M

peius et gravius est, quia exactores diligis. Et
amicus est tibi inimicus tuus. Quid dicam nescio,
quid suadeam ignoro. Unum dicam quod scio; qui hic
pascitur, hic saturatur, hic iucundatur, hic ridet,
5 hic inebriatur, hic ludit, illic esuriet, illic sitiet,
illic lugebit, illic lamentabit, illic ululabit, sicut
Dominus dixit, Vae his qui rident, quia ipsi lugebunt,
et, Vae vobis qui saturati estis, quia esurietis.
Duo enim sibi tempora succedunt et duae vitae, et duo
10 saecula sunt; una vita brevis et altera longa, et qui
in una esurit in alia pascetur; qui vero hic vorat,
saturatur, consolatur in una, in altera esuriet et
sitiet iuxta illud Isaiae, Propter hoc dicit Dominus,
Ecce qui serviunt mihi manducabunt et bibent, vos autem
15 esurietis et sitietis, et post pauca, Ecce qui
serviunt mihi exsultabunt in iucunditate, vos autem
propter dolorem cordis clamabitis et a contritione
spiritus ululabitis. Cum haec ergo ita sunt, parcendum
est divitiis et brevi voluntati minime serviendum, ne
20 pascamur ad esuriem, ne forte satiemur ad famem, et

7,8.Luc.6,25 13-5.Is.65,13 15-8.Is.65,14

2.est...tuus)es inimicis tuis-M 3.quod)quid-T ; qui)
quod-M 10.sunt)om.M 11.alia)altera-M
13.sitiet)scitiet-Ti ; Isaiae)Esaias-TTi 17.a)prae-
M, om.Ti 18.sunt)sint-TiM 19.voluntati)voluptati-M

bibamus ad sitim, videmus enim aut hic aut illic,
 unum e duobus, necesse experiri. Quamobrem si
 saturemur, si bibamus, O nos miseri, ex parte, non
 ex toto hic comedamus, necessaria, non suavia; cum
 5 paupere manducemus, cum paupere bibamus, cum paupere
 participemus, ut vel sic cum paupere illic participare
 mereamur, ubi saturabuntur qui hic pro Christo esuriunt
et sitiunt iustitiam. Quorum enim regnum caelorum
 est nisi pauperum, qui animis humiles et divitiis
 10 pauperes pro Christo sunt, cui gloria in saecula
 saeculorum ? Amen.

7-8. Matt. 5, 6 8-9. cf. Matt. 5, 3

4. hic) om. M ; comedamus) ---damus -T, comedamus-Ti
 9. qui animis) quia nimirum-M

Instructio VIII

1. Ecce nunc de fine viae dicendum est; iam enim
diximus viam esse humanam vitam, et quam sit dubia
et incerta, et non esse quod est, umbrae similitudine
monstravimus; similiter, quam improvisa et quam
5 caeca est, ante diximus; de fine vero vitae nostrae,
Spiritu Sancto nos adiuvante, noster sermo producendus
est. Viatorum est festinare ad patriam, eorum
similiter est in via sollicitudo, in patria securitas.
Festinemus ergo ad patriam nostram, qui in via sumus;
10 tota enim vita nostra quasi iter unius diei est.
Primum nobis est nihil hic amare; sed sursum amemus,
sursum desideremus, sursum sapiamus, sursum quaeramus
patriam; ibi enim ubi Pater noster est. Patriam
ergo non habemus in terra, quia Pater noster in caelis
15 est. Etenim si potestatis virtute et deitatis
magnitudine ubique est, quam mare profundior, terra
stabilior, mundo latior, aere purior, caelo altior,
sole clarior est; in caelis tamen manifeste est, in
quibus panis angelorum est, qui ut domestici beatam
20 caeli primi regiam incolunt, et Dei fruuntur conspectu.

14. Matt. 6, 9

19. cf. Ps. 77, 25

codd. TIM

Tit.) VIII-T, Item VIII-T1, Epistola sive Sermo Octavus-M
7. eorum) ideo-M 9. nostram) om. TIM 10. vita) via-M
11-2. sursum) sursum (4) -TT1 13. ibi enim) del. T, patria
add. M; noster) om. TIM 15. est) om. M; deitatis)
deitas-T 18. clarior est) est om. M 19. angelorum) panis T

Sed quia inconspicabilis Dei naturam sinceram natura infirmior ferre non poterat, ideo Deus plus, intra quem omnia et extra quem nihil, primam regionem cognitionis suae quam primo caelo inclusit, quod
 5 aq̄is elevatis temperavit, supernis virtutibus deputavit; nisi enim illa primi caeli natura supra dictis aq̄is temperaretur, superni Dei accensa virtute, nequaquam ab inferioribus esset patienda naturis; ac sic omnibus ubique praesens, inconspicabilis Deus
 10 est. Plus enim est quam totus conspici queat, et plus omnibus, qui omnia ex nihilo creavit; et ideo cum videtur invisibilis est, quia quis sit et quantus sit sibi soli notus est. Pulsemus tamen illum, quia unicuique pro merito puritatis notus adest, invisibilis
 15 licet, inaestimabilis licet, Deus Trinitas. Pulsemus, inquam, vel hinc vel illuc familiarius, vel intremus, vel manifestius intellegamus, et nos in via cantantes dicamus, Post te in odorem unguentorum tuorum curremus, et, Post te adhaesit anima mea, et,
 20 Trahe me post te; ut cum his canticis mundum festinanter

18-9.Cant.1,3 19.Ps.62,9 20.Cant.1,3

10.queat)queat-T 10-12.et plus....quis sit)om.m
 16.vel illuc)ut illuc-TTi ; vel intremus)vel om.M
 17.nos)nunc-T 18.Post te...curremus)om.M
 19.te adhaesit)tea adhesit-T

transeamus, ac de supernis gubernati praesentia
neglegamus, et de caelestibus semper cogitantes
terrena despiciamus; nisi enim caelestibus desideriis
impatenter inhiemus, terrenis necesse est haerebimus.

- 5 2. Occupemus itaque nos divinis, ne forte humanis,
et quasi peregrini semper patriam suspiremus, semper
patriam desideremus; finis enim viae semper viatoribus
optabilis et desiderabilis est, et ideo quia sumus
mundi viatores et peregrini, de fine viae, id est,
10 vitae nostrae semper cogitemus, viae enim finis nostrae
patria nostra est. Sed ibi omnes saeculi itinerantes
pro meritis diversa sortiuntur; et boni viatores in
patria requiescunt, mali vero de ea peribunt; multi
enim patriam veram perdunt, quia plus viam diligunt.
15 Non plus viam nos quam patriam diligamus, ne aeternam
patriam perdamus; talem enim habemus patriam, quam
amare debemus. Duret igitur apud nos ista definitio,
ut sic vivamus in via ut viatores, ut peregrini, ut
hospites mundi, nullis haerentes cupiditatibus, nullis
20 terrenis inhiantes desideriis, sed caelestibus et

2. caelestibus)desideriis add.M 3. despiciamus)
dispiciamus-Ti ; desiderii)desideriis-T
4. impatienter)scripsi, impatientibus-TTi, instantius-M;
inhiemus)inhiemis-T 5. humanis)occupemur add.M
6. optabilis)obtabilis-T ; sumus)nunc-M 10. finis
nostrae)nostrae finis-M 11. itinerantes)iterantes-TTi
15-6. aeternam patriam)aeterna-M 18. sic)hic-Ti
20. terrenis)om.M

spiritualibus formis animos nostros repleamus, virtute
et opere psallentes, Quando veniam et parebo ante
faciem Dei mei ? Sitivit enim anima mea Deum fortem
vivum, et, Anima mea sicut terra sine aqua tibi, et
5 cum Paulo dicentes, Cupio dissolvi et esse cum Christo,
sciamus nos licet peregrinos a Domino quamdiu sumus in
corpore, praesentes tamen esse oculis Dei. Quapropter
omni ignavia calcata, et omni deposito tepore, nitamur
ei qui ubique praesens est placere, ut cum bona
10 conscientia de via huius saeculi ad beatam patriam nostri
Patris aeternam aeterni transire feliciter possimus,
de praesentibus ad absentia, de tristibus ad laeta,
de caducis ad aeterna, de terrenis ad caelestia, de
regione mortis ad regionem vivorum, ubi facie ad
15 faciem caelestia videbimus, et Regem regum recto
regimine regna regentem Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum,
cui gloria in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

2-4. Ps. 41, 3 4. Ps. 142, 6 5. Philipp. 1, 23
6-7. cf. II Cor. 5, 6

1. spiritualibus) spiritalibus-TTi 2. parebo) apparebo-M
3. mea) ad add.M 11. aeternam) et add.M
15. videbimus) videmus-M ; recto) rector-T

Instructio IX

1. Adhuc de fine dicamus, fratres carissimi; finis enim viae nostrae, ut diximus, nostra patria est. Sed quia alii hic patriam possidentes, illic finem viae in patria non habebunt, sed de via in viam vadunt, id est, de poena in poenam animo remordente mutabuntur, et requiem non habebunt; ideo viae, id est, vitae illorum finis patria non est, sed poena, non est requies, sed inquietudo. Iustorum autem vitae finis est vita aeterna, requies, pax perennis, patria caelestis, aeternitas beata, laetitia infinita. Diversus itaque finis viae humanae vitae est, quia licet fragilitate et volubilitate lubrica et incerta fugacitate via vitae humanae similis, studiis tamen ac profectibus dissimilis est. Sed dissimilem vitam hic sors similis premit, et incerti itineris incursus infestat; similiter enim omnes nascuntur, crescunt, decrescunt, infirmantur, tribulantur, moriuntur; sed quando ad finem veniunt, ibi discernuntur, et quos similis incursus fatigavit, dissimilis ordo segregavit; ibi enim vera probatio et diligens examinatio similis

codd. TTiM

Tit.) Item VIII Incipit-T, Item Nona-Ti, Epistola sive Sermo Nonus-M 4.habebunt)habebant-T
 11.Diversus)Diversitas-M 12.fragilitate)transilitate-M;
 et incerta)ac incerta-T 14.ac)et-M
 15.premi)praemi-T 19.segregavit)segregabit-T

miseriae erit, qua omnes viatores viae, quam mortales
 similiter terunt, premuntur. Illic enim, ut Apostolus
 ait, Uniuscuiusque opus quale sit ignis probabit.
 Videte ordinem miserae humanae vitae de terra, super
 5 terram, in terram, a terra in ignem, de igne in
 iudicium, de iudicio aut in gehennam aut in vitam;
 de terra enim creatus es, terram calcas, in terram
 ibis, a terra surges, in igne probaberis, iudicium
 expectabis, aeternum aut post haec supplicium aut
 10 regnum possidebis; quia illic Oportet nos, ut
 ait Apostolus, manifestari ante tribunal Christi, ut
referat unusquisque propria corporis sui, prout gessit,
sive bonum sive malum; quam rem etiam Dominus in
 Evangelio denuntiat, Filius hominis venturus est in
 15 gloria sua, et tunc reddet unicuique secundum opera sua.
 Expavescite, quaeso, dictorum pondus, et cum timore
 et tremore suspecta semper mente illum tremendum
 divini iudicii adventum indesinenter cogitate, ubi
 ante illud tribunal Christi iudicis horrificum,
 20 uniuscuiusque opus quale sit ignis probabit, et propria

3. & 20. I Cor. 3, 13 10-3. II Cor. 5, 10 14-5. Matt. 16, 27

1. quam) quasi-M 2. terunt) terra-TiM 3. uniuscuiusque)
 uniuscuius-Ti ; probabit) probavit-Ti 4. miserae) miseriae-M
 8. surges) resurges-T ; igne) igni-TTi 9. aeternum aut) aeternum
 ac-M 11. Apostolus) apostulus-T

uniuscuiusque corporis, sive bonum sive malum, quisque
ut gessit referet, et ubi Filius hominis veniens
unicuique secundum opera sua reddet.

2. Satis tremenda sententia est, fratres, quia
 5 non dixit, secundum misericordiam suam, sed secundum
opera sua unicuique reddet; hic enim misericors, illic
 iustus iudex. Idcirco timendum est, tremendum nobis
 est multum, qui haec legimus et audimus, carissimi,
 quando Deo praedicante cognoscimus iuxta opera sua
 10 unicuique reddendum esse. Quid durius dicere potuit?
 Quid spei reliquit humanae? Quis enim potest per
 ignem iustificari et iudicis misericordia non egere,
 qui in corpore peccati habitat? Quis, rogo, humani
 generis carnem gestans haec non timeat, quibus nos
 15 omnes manifestandos et quodammodo assignandos esse
 ante tribunal Christi, et ibi opera nostra per ignem
 probanda praedicatur? Cum dolore pro perditis
 dicendum est, Ut quid limus sensum accipit? quare
 sensus factus est de pulvere? Qui de terra creati,
 20 paululum super eam stantes, in eandem paulo post

1-2. cf. II Cor. 5, 10 2-3. cf. Matt. 16, 27 5-6 & 9-10. ib.
 13. cf. Rom. 6, 6

4. fratres) charissimi-add. M 6. illic) illuc-Tt1 7. est) om.
 M 11. reliquit) relinquit-T, relinquit-Tt1 12. egere)
 aegere-T 15. assignandos) alligandos-M

intraturi, eadem nos iterum iussu Dei reddente ac
 proiciente, novissime per ignem probabimur, ut quadam
 arte terram et lutum ignis dissolvat, et si quid auri
 aut argenti habuerit aut ceterorum terrae utilium
 5 paracaraximo liquefacto demonstret. Mortuorum ergo
 animorum est et desperabilium ista non timere; nam
 vivis vel semel haec audire cautelae sufficere debuit.
 Quapropter nihil nobis utilius sciamus, quam ut omnibus
 diebus vitae nostrae vitam ancipitem retractantes,
 10 nosmetipsos cottidie discutiamus, et verborum
 cogitatumque nostrorum rationem agentes, et humanam
 vitam perhorrescentes, hunc supra dictum istius viae,
 id est, vitae nostrae finem, cunctis spretis mundi
 huius voluptatibus, sine intermissione cogitemus.
 15 Videmus vitam, sed umbram et imaginem fugientem et
 fallentem advertimus. Ne ergo nos fallax et seductrix,
 brevis et temporalis, caduca et fragilis, amara ac
 tristis vita decipiat; de vera et aeterna semper
 cogitemus, quae post mortem immortales iustos habitura
 20 sit. Vide vicissitudinem rerum, vita ante mortem et

3.dissolvat)desolvat-T 5.paracaraximo)paracarasmo-M
 7.vivis)cuivis-M 13.spretis)spraetis-T
 14.voluptatibus)voluntatibus-Ti 20.vita)vitam-T

post mortem vita; iustus plus duas possidet, et
peccator impius unam infelicioiter habuit, alteram
felicem perdidit; post brevem enim vitam, de morte in
mortem vadit in interitum, de quo Dei pii bonitas
5 nos dignetur eripere, per Dominum nostrum Iesum
Christum, cui gloria in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

Instructio X

1. Multum nobis de fine, fratres carissimi,
timorem Dominus in superioribus per Evangelium et
Paulum incussit. Quod nobis post haec tam tremenda
divini canonis testimonia refugium est ? Quibus
5 lacrimis, quantis suspiriis opus est ? Qualibus
compunctionibus durum et lapideum cor conterendum est,
ut iram Iudicis tantam effugere possimus ? Quam
universitatis creator Deus ac Dominus noster per se
ac Apostolum Prophetasque minatur, qui easdem minas
10 non tacent dicendo, Ecce dies Domini venit ardens
ut clibanus, et exuret eos; et erunt omnes alienigenae
et omnes qui faciunt iniquitatem, ut stipula; et
incendet eos dies illa quae venit, dicit Dominus
omnipotens, et non relinquetur radix et germen.
15 Similiter et alius dicit Propheta, Ecce venit Dominus
omnipotens, et quis sustinebit diem adventus eius ?
Aut quis supportabit conspectum eius ? Quia ipse
ingredietur ut ignis conflatorii. Sed et Isaias dicit,
Ecce dies Domini veniet insanabilis, dies irae et
20 furoris, dies nubis et nebulae, et paulo post,

10-4. Malach. 4, 1
Sophon. 1, 15

15-8. Malach. 3, 1-2

19-20. Is. 13, 9 &

codd. TTiM

Tit.) Item X-TTi, Epistola sive Sermo Decimus-M
4. refugium)refugiendum-M 5. quantis)quibus-M ;
est ? Qualibus)est cuilibet ? -M 6. compunctionibus)
compunct....M 9. Prophetasque)profetasque-Ti
15. Propheta)profeta-Ti 17. supportabit)subportabit-
TTi 18. Isaias)esaias-TTi

Caelum enim quatietur et terra movebitur a fundamentis
 suis, propter furorem irae Domini sabaoth in die, qua
 supervenerit furor eius, et iterum dicit, Movebuntur
fundamenta terrae, perturbatione perturbabitur terra,
 5 stupore stupebit terra, inclinatione inclinabitur
terra, et commotione commovebitur terra; sicut ebrius
et crapulatus excutietur. Asaph quoque similia loquitur,
Deus manifeste veniet, Deus noster et non silebit; ignis
in conspectu eius ardebit et in circuitu eius
 10 tempestas valida. Et David consona huic loquitur dicens,
Ignis ante ipsum ardebit, et inflammabit in circuitu
inimicos eius.

2. Post haec, inquam, tam tremenda Veteris et
 Novi Testamenti praeconia, e quibus heri et hodie
 15 pauca commemoravimus; qua satisfactione iram tanti
 Iudicis evadere possimus, videamus. Domini et
 Salvatoris nostri Iesu Christi meminisse debemus
 dicentis, Qui vult animam suam salvam facere, perdet
eam; nam qui perdiderit animam suam propter me,
 20 inveniet illam. Perdendum ergo est libenter quicquid

1-3. Is. 13, 13 3-7. Is. 24, 18-20 8-10. Ps. 49, 3
 11-12. Ps. 96, 3 18-20. Matt. 16, 25
 5-6. stupore....commovebitur terra) om. M 13. tremenda) om. M;
 et) quam-M 14. e) ex-M, om. Tti 16. et) ac-M
 17. Salvatoris) dei add. Ti

diligimus praeter Christum pro Christo; vita primum
qua corpus animae societate vivificatur, si ita
necesse sit, pro Christo martyrizantibus perdatur;
aut si talis beatitudinis desit occasio, non tamen
5 voluntatum deerit mortificatio, Ut qui vivit, non
sibi vivat, sed ei qui pro ipso mortuus est. Vivamus
ergo ei qui cum moritur pro nobis vita est; nosque
nobis moriamur ut Christo vivamus; ei enim vivere non
possumus nisi nobis ante, hoc est, nostris voluntatibus
10 moriamur. Christi simus, non nostri; Non enim sumus
nostri, empti enim sumus pretio magno, et vere magno,
quando Dominus pro servo, Rex pro ministro, Deus pro
homine datur. Quid debemus nos reddere, si creator
universitatis immerito pro nobis impiis, creatura
15 tamen sua, mortuus est? Putasne non debeas mori
peccato? Certe debes. Moriamur ergo, moriamur pro
vita, quia vita moritur pro mortuis, ut cum Paulo
dicere possimus, Vivo ego, iam non ego, vivit vero
in me Christus, ille qui pro me mortuus est;
20 electorum enim est ista vox. Nullus autem potest

5-6.II Cor.5,15 10-1.I Cor.6,19-20 18-9.Gal.2,20

3.perdatur)prodatur-M 4.aut)at-T 5.voluntatum)
voluptatum-T 10-1.Non enim sumus nostri)om.M
14.immerito)om.M

sibimet mori, nisi Christus in illo vivat; si autem Christus in illo sit, sibimet vivere non potest. Vive in Christo, ut Christus in te.

3. Sed quaeris quomodo sensus vivat in illo, ut
 5 te doceat tibi mori et Christo vivere, vel, ut
 verius dicendum est, tibi vivere; qui enim moritur
 pro Christo ipse vivit, et qui sibi vivit moritur.
 Mortalis est enim, si voluntatibus suis vivit iuxta
 illud Apostoli, Si enim secundum carnem vixeritis
 10 moriemini. Videtis ergo, carissimi, quia in alienis
 habitamus, dum vel vita nostra non est nostra, et non
 nobis vivere debemus, et grandis violentia est per
 laborem quaerere, et per studium habere, quod natura
 vitata non servaverit. Sed tamen arbitrii electionem,
 15 amissa licet beatitudine, non amisit. Inde nunc Per
vim et violentiam regnum rapimus caelorum, et illud
 quodammodo quasi inter medias hostium manus e medio
 agonis campo, et ceu certaminis sanguineo solo,
 abstrahimur, dum non solum ab adversariis, sed a nobis
 20 ipsis durius impugnatur, dum unusquisque male seipsum

9-10. Rom. 8, 13 15-6. cf. Matt. II, 12

5. vel, ut) velud - T 8. voluntatibus suis) suis voluntatibus - M 14. arbitrii) arbitri - TT1

diligit, et in eo quo diligit, seipsum nocet; ille enim bene diligit, qui seipsum salubriter edicit, hoc est, affligit; qui vero suis adversariis consentit, non recte se diligere dicitur. Grandis ergo miseria est, qui seipsum nocens non sentit. Cum enim ipse sibi homo contrarius est, non est omnium sic illum pacare ut vere quis seipsum diligit. Pugnandum ergo hic est et certandum cum vitiis nostris, ut alibi coronemur. Tempus enim hoc, tempus belli est; ideo enim nemo putet securitatem in bello, quia nullus dormit in bello, et nullus securus ingreditur aciem. Acies itaque nobis dirigenda est contra omne vitiosum, voluptuosum, male blandum. Sufficit autem pugnantibus adversarios vincere; si teipsum viceris, omnium victor es; si vero tui victor proprius es, tibi mortuus, Deo vivus comprobaris; quando autem mortuum audis, qua audacia intraturus es ad iudicium Christi! Suae causae advocatum et sui desiderii suggestorem et sui contemptus ultorem unusquisque pro Christo martyrizans se ipsum facit.

Si enim vere Christi crucem assumpsisset, nihil ei

7.quis)scripsi, qui-TTiM 8.nostriis)om.M
 10.putet)putat-M 12.voluptuosum)volumptuosum-T
 15.es)est-Ti 17.es)om.TTi

horum licere animadverteret, quia et Christus in hoc
 exemplum dedit, ut nullus quod suum est quaerat,
 dicendo, Non sicut ego volo, sed sicut tu vis, et
Descendi non ut faciam voluntatem meam, sed voluntatem
 5 eius qui me misit.

4. Se unusquisque consideret, ne liber et vivus in
 loco servi et crucifixi inveniat, et Unusquisque
in quo vocatus est in eo permaneat apud Deum, et
 sicut Apostolus dixit, Sive liber, sive subiectus,
 10 sub iugo humilitatis quasi servi in Christo sint.
 Contra se ergo unusquisque nostrum, carissimi, veniat;
 nam si non contra nosmetipsos sed contra fratres
 veniamus, et si loquamur ut libet, non est vera sed
 falsa religio nostra. Nihil itaque liberum in servis
 15 Christi esse debet, et nihil altum in Christi esse
 humilitate oportet. Non simus ergo superbi, non simus
 protervi, non liberi; sed simus humiles, lenes, affabiles,
 communes, ut Rex humilis, altus tamen, in nobis Christus
 regnet. Sed ut hanc salubrem mortem quadam spei
 20 suavitate diligamus, finem eius audiamus. Quis enim

3. Matt. 26, 39 4-5. Ioan. 6, 38 7-8. I Cor. 7, 20 9. I Cor. 12, 13

4. Descendi) discendi-T 5. me misit) misit me-M

11. unusquisque) unusquis-T1 13. veniamus) vivamus-TT1

14. Nihil) nil-T 15-6. esse humilitate) humilitate esse-M

revera felicior est illo cuius mors vita est, cuius
 vita Christus est, et Salvator morces est, cui caelum
 humiliatur et paradisos patet, cui terra caelestis et
 infernus clusus est, cui ianua aperitur et vita non
 5 finitur, cui Deus pater et angelus minister, qui de
 brevi longum, de misero beatum, de caduco aeternum,
 de tristi laetum, de humili excelsum, de terra caelum,
 de mortali Deum felici commercio acquirit? Si itaque
 praesentia despiciamus et futura solummodo quaeramus,
 10 haec omnia supra dicta in melius commutamus. Sed si,
 quod absit, potiora inferioribus postponamus, utraque
 sine dubio perdemus. Quamobrem sic cum Iesu vitam
 quaeramus, ut mortificationem eius ante in nobis
 habeamus; quod nobis Deus Christus praestare dignetur,
 15 qui cum Patre semper et Spiritu Sancto est unus Deus
 in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

8. Si itaque) Sed si-M 12. sic) si-TTi 15. unus) om. M
 16. Amen) om. TTi ; finit de fine add. T

Instructio XI -- De Disciplina

- Moyses in lege scripsit, Fecit Deus hominem
ad imaginem et similitudinem suam. Considerate,
 quaeso, dicti huius dignitatem; Deus omnipotens,
 invisibilis, incomprehensibilis, inenarrabilis,
 5 inaeestimabilis de limo hominem fingens, imaginis suae
 dignitate nobilitavit. Quid homini ad Deum? Quid
 humus spiritui? Deus enim spiritus est. Grandis
 dignatio, quod Deus suae aeternitatis imaginem et
 morum suorum similitudinem homini donavit. Magna
 10 dignitas homini Dei similitudo, si conservetur; sed
 grandis iterum damnatio, Dei imaginis violatio. Quod
 enim accepit de flatu Dei, si in contrarium depravaverit
 usum, et beneficium naturae contaminaverit, tunc
 Dei similitudinem corrumpit, et quantum in se est
 15 delet; si autem animae insitis virtutibus usus
 fuerit in rectum, tunc Deo erit similis. Quaecumque
 ergo Deus in nobis in prima nostra conditione
 virtutes seminavit, ipsas ei reddere nos praeceptis
 docuit. Hoc est primum, Diligere ex toto corde
 20 Dominum nostrum, Quia ipse prior dilexit nos ab initio
-
- 1-2.Gen.1,26 7.Ioann.4,24 19-20.Matt.22,37
 20.I Ioann.4,10
 codd. R,T,Ti,D,M, Tit.)De Disciplina-RD, XI-T, Item
 XI-Ti, Epistola sive Sermo Undecimus-M
 4.invisibilis)incarnabilis add.RD ; inenarrabilis)
 innarrabilis-TTi ; inenarrabilis, inaeestimabilis)om.RD
 5.hominem)homine-T 6.dignitate nobilitavit)dignitatem
 ei tribuit-RD ; Quid humus)Quid aliquid humus-R, Quid
 limoso et-TTiM 7.spiritus)omnipotens-R 8.dignatio)
 est add.M 9.homini)om.D 10.homini)hominum-D
 12.enim)homo add.TTiM ; accepit)accipit-TTiM ; de flatu
 Dei)post enim coll.D 16.Quaecumque)quas cum-R
 18.ei)om.RD ; praeceptis)om.RD 20.dominum)Deum add.D,Deum-M

et antequam essemus. Dei enim dilectio, imaginis
 eius renovatio. Deum autem diligit qui eius mandata
 custodit; dixit enim, Si diligitis me, mandata mea
servate. Hoc est mandatum eius, dilectio invicem,
 5 iuxta illud, Hoc est mandatum meum, ut diligatis
invicem, sicut et ego dilexi vos. Dilectio autem
 vera Non verbo est tantum, sed opere et veritate.
 Reddamus itaque Deo nostro, Patri nostro, suam
 imaginem inviolatam in sanctitate, quia ille sanctus
 10 est, iuxta illud, Sancti estote, quia ego sanctus
sum; in caritate, quia caritas est, iuxta illud
 Ioannis, Deus caritas est; in pietate et veritate,
 quia ille pius et verax est.

2. Ne simus alienae imaginis pictores; tyrannicae
 15 enim imaginis pictor est, qui ferox est, qui iracundus
 est, qui superbus est. Sicut enim falsa scientia
 detegitur, sic falsa etiam imago umbrata deprehenditur.
 Divisa est enim veritas a falsitate, iustitia ab
 iniquitate, caritas a malignitate, diligentia a
 20 securitate, aequitas a pravitate, dilectio a simulatione,

3-4. Ioann. 14, 15 5-6. Ioann. 15, 12 7. I. Ioann. 3, 18
 10. Lev. 11, 44 12. I. Ioann. 4, 8

2. eius (19) est-D 3. dixit) dicit-D 4. est mandatum) mandatum
 est-D 5-6. iuxta... invicem) om. RD 6. autem) om. RD
 7. sed) in add. M 8. itaque) ita et-RD ; Patri) et Patri-M
 9. quia ille) tum quia ipse-M, qui ille-R 10-11. iuxta....
 caritas est) om. D 13. et verax est) est et verax-RD,
 est verax est-TT1 14. alienae imaginis) imaginis alienae-D
 15. enim) om. T1 17. detegitur) legitur-RTTID ; umbrata) om. RD
 18. enim) om. D 19. diligentia a) diligentia ab -TT1

et utraque imagines quasdam in nobis pingunt, sibi
 invicem contrarias. Pietas enim et impietas, pax et
 discordia, contraria sibi sunt. Ne forte itaque
 nobis tyrannicas introducamus imagines, Christus in
 5 nobis pingat suam imaginem, quippe dicendo, Pacem
meam do vobis, pacem meam relinquo vobis. Sed quid
 prodest quod scimus quia pax bona est, si non bene
 servetur? Solet enim optimum quodque fragilissimum
 fieri, et pretiose quaeque maiori cautela et diligentiori
 10 custodia indigent; nimium enim fragile est quod levi
 sermone perditur et minima fratris laesione deperit.
 Nullum non laedis quando ei adularis; et nulli
 blandiris quando eum despicias. Dic enim Fatue, et
 pacem violasti, et reus factus es gehennae. Cavendum
 15 est itaque dilectionem fraternam studentibus complere
 loqui ut libet et pro animi motu linguam movere, dum
 non solum de iniuriosis, sed etiam De otiosis
sermonibus rationem reddemus. Quapropter studendum
 est in multis sermonibus non immorari, sed
 20 necessaria quaeque proloqui. Nihil enim suavius est

5-6. Ioann. 14, 27. 13-4. Matt. 5, 22. 17-8. Matt. 12, 36
 1. utraque) utraeque-RD 2. et impietas) ab impietate-RD
 5. pingat suam) suam pingat-RD; quippe dicendo) scripsi,
 quippe dicendum est-RD; qui pinxit dicendo-TTm
 6. meam relinquo) meam om. RD 8. servetur) servatur-R
 8-9. quodque... pretiosa) quod fragilissimum diligentissime
 servari et praeciosa-D 9. fieri) om. R 12. Nullum) Multum-M;
 non) scripsi, enim-RTTIDM; ei) non add. R 13. despicias)
 dispicias-RTID; Fatue) fatuae-T 20. quaeque) om. RD;
 proloqui) loqui-M; est) om. Tm

hominibus, quam aliena loqui et aliena curare, et
otiosa passim verba proferre, et de absentibus
detrahere; et ideo qui non possunt dicere, Dominus
dedit mihi linguam eruditam, ut possim sustinere eum
5 qui lassus est verbo, taceant, et si quid dicant
pacificum sit. Quamvis enim sapiens, minus paucis
offendit sermonibus quam multis; quando enim unusquisque
mentitur, maledicit, detrahit, seipsum proprio
mucrone iugulat. Quid autem aliud nobis inimici
10 optassent, nisi ut nostris armis propriis succumberemus ?
Noli detrahere, ait Scriptura, ne eradiceris. Vide
quid laboratur in operibus impietatis; habitatio et
plantatio, quam vix magnis ac diurnis laboribus
plantamus, uno detractionis verbo eradicatur, et quod
15 longo labore vix queat stabiliri, unius sermonis
impetu subruitur. Caveat ergo unusquisque, ne sua
radix de terra viventium pro odii detractione
eradicetur. Nullus enim unquam detrahit ei quem
diligat; detractio enim odii primogenitus est, et
20 ideo talis patris filius merito eradicandus est.

3-5. Isa. 50, 4 11. Ps. 36, 8-9

1. curare) curari-R 3. et ideo...dicere) om. R
5. lassus) lapsus-RDM; et) om. D 6. enim) om. R; enim
sapiens) om. D; paucis offendit) offendit paucis-D
8. seipsum) semetipsum-RD 10. succumberemus) succumbamus-
M 12. laboratur) laboretur-M; operibus) laboribus-M
13. plantatio) subplantatio-D; quam vix) quam (rasura)-R,
quamvis-D; diurnis) divinis-D, diuturnis-M 14. plantamus)
plantatur-R; quod) quam-R, quamvis-D 16. subruitur)
obruitur-RD 17-19. detractione....odii) om. D
18. eradicetur) post viventium coll. M; ei) om. R

3. Periculosa habitatio, carissimi, in qua ista non vitantur. Si enim, ut ait Apostolus, invicem invidetis et invicem mordetis, invicem detrahitis, dico, videte ne ab invicem consumamini. Si enim

- 5 Qui non diligit in morte est, ubi erit qui detrahit ?
 Lacrimis in his opus magis quam verbis est. Quid enim diligentius, quidve abundantius lex Dei mandavit quam dilectionem ? Et raro invenis quemquam sic facientem. Quid dicemus pro excusatione ? Numquid
 10 possumus dicere, laboriosum est, durum est ? Non est labor dilectio; plus suave est, plus medicale est, plus salubre est cordi dilectio. Si enim vitiis languidum non fuerit cor, ipsius sanitas dilectio est, et quod Deo carum sit; nihil autem Deo plus carum est
 15 quam dilectio, spiritualis maxime, cum suae legis et omnium mandatorum suorum summa sit iuxta illud Apostoli, Qui autem diligit proximum, legem implevit. Qui vero legem implevit studio dilectionis habet vitam aeternam, sicut et Ioannes dicit, Fratres, scimus
 20 quoniam de morte ad vitam transivimus, quia diligimus

2-4.Gal.5,15 5.I Ioann.3,14 17.Rom.13,8

1.add. tit. De dilectione spirituali-D 6.opus)est add. RD ; est)om.RD 7.quidve)quid-RD 11.medicale) medicabile-RD 12.cordi dilectio)cor dilectio-R, cor dilectione-D ; vitiis)intus-D 13.cor)cordis-RD ; sanitas),suavitas-M 14.quod Deo)quod Dei-RD ; autem) om.RD ; Deo plus)plus Deo-D 15.spiritualis)spiritalis-TTi ; suae legis)legis suae-D 17.proximum)suum add.D ; implevit)ita corr.ex implebit-R, implebit-TTi 18.Qui...implevit)om.RD ; studio)studium-RD 19.sicut)sic-M 20.ad vitam)om.R, post transivimus coll. D ; quia)quoniam-RD

fratres; qui enim non diligit in morte est. Si
quis autem odit, homicida est. Scitis autem quia
omnis homicida non habet vitam aeternam in se manentem.

Aut ergo nihil agendum est nisi dilectio, aut nihil

- 5 sperandum est nisi poena; Plenitudo enim legis caritas,
 quam nobis ille plus abundanter inspirare dignetur
 Dominus noster et Salvator Iesus Christus, qui dignatus
 est dari pacis conditor et caritatis Deus, cui gloria
 in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

p.148,19-3. I Ioann.3,14-5 5.Rom.13,10

5.enim)ergo-RD 8.est)om.T ; dari)scripsi, dare-RTTID,
 dici-M ; pacis)pacem et-RD ; conditor)concordiam-D ;
 caritatis)caritas-R, caritatem-D ; Deus)om.RD 9.Amen)om.R

Instructio XII — De Compunctione

1. Compunctionis necessariae insinuationem
superioribus sermocinationibus utcumque suggerere
tentavimus, et quasi soliloquiis, proprii licet, omnis
tamen cordis ignaviam suscitare volumus. Sed quia
5 fidei paupertas et carnis voluntas cum mundi
cupiditatibus haec castigationum documenta tepide
audiens contemnit, persaepe eadem iteranda sunt; si
enim fides dubia non esset, vel unum de supra dictis
divini oraculi testimoniis abunde sufficeret. Credunt
10 ergo et non credunt qui audita neglegunt; alioquin si
tibi hodie, ut ait quidam, diceretur quod iudex
saeculi huius vult te crastino vivum exurere, quid,
rogo, tibi sollicitudinis, quid timoris immineret?
Et his auditis, si esset tibi unius diei spatium
15 liberum, quanta faceres, quomodo adclinares, et per
quos discurreres, quam humilis et quam lugens et
sordidus oberrares? Nonne effunderes omnem pecuniam
tuam in eos quorum intercessione evadere posse te
crederes? Nonne omnia bona tua faceres redemptionem
20 animae tuae et nihil reservares, licet parcus et avarus

19-20. cf. Prov. 13, 8

codd. T. Ti, M

Tit). De compunctione item XII-T, Item XII de compunctione
-Ti, Epistola sive Sermo Duodecimus-M

2. sermocinationibus) sermotinationibus-Ti 3. soliloquiis)
soliloquus-M 7. audiens) audit-M ; contemnit) om. M

11. ut... diceretur) constaret-M 15. adclinares) acclamares
-M 19. crederes) crederis-Ti

esses, sed omnia disperderes, omnia donares pro vita
 tua ? Et si aliquis te retardare aut impedire tentaverit
 nonne diceres, Pereant omnia pro salute mea, nec
 quicquam remaneat; tantum ut vivam ? Hoc quare
 5 faceres ? Quia non dubitares quod cras iuxta severissimi
 iudicis sententiam arderes. Hic vero dubitas quod quam
 cito futurum sit ignoras; non nescis tamen futurum,
 licet neglegis. Expergiscendum ergo est, vigilandum
 est, orandum est, iuxta Salvatoris nostri Iesu Christi
 10 Dei nostri praeceptum dicentis, Attendite autem vobis,
ne forte graventur corda vestra crapula et ebrietate
et curis huius vitae, et superveniat in vos dies illa
repentina; tamquam laqueus enim superveniet in omnes
qui sedent super faciem omnis terrae. Vigilate itaque omni
 15 tempore, ut digni habeamini effugere ista omnia quae
futura sunt, et stare ante Filium hominis.

2. Si haec audimus et credimus, fidem nostram
 vigilantia nostra ostendet, ac discussis squalentibus
 atque torpentibus mortiferi teporis torporibus, sensus
 20 nostros Domini Salvatoris sententia vibret, ut omnibus

10-6. Luc. 21, 34-6

2. tentaverit) temptaret-T 3. nec) ne-TiM 4. ut) om. M
 5. quod cras) om. M 6. sententiam) quin add. M ; Hic)
 hinc-T 8-9. vigilandum est) om. M 10. dicentis) om. M
 19. torpentibus) torpentis-TM

curis mortalibus depositis parati semper simus,
 expectantes scilicet ultimi diei adventum, quo aut
 poena aut gloria nos suscipiet; acuatque animorum
 nostrorum acies supra dictus Domini sermo, quo nos
 5 vigilantes et orantes iugiter esse docuit, ut non
 simus quasi credentes et non credentes, et quasi
 audientes et non audientes; et Dei pii et boni
 ineffabilem misericordiam de profundo cordis nostri
 per Iesum Christum Filium suum infatigabiliter
 10 deprecemur, rogemus, oremus, ut ita nobis suam
 dilectionem inspirare dignetur, ut nos ei in aeternum
 coniungat, inseparabiliter conglutinet, humo elevet,
 caelo societ interim sensus nostros, quamdiu simus in
 hoc mortis corpore constituti; atque sic eius adventum
 15 sine querela expectemus, quo ei cum apparuerit cum
 gaudio et magna caritatis fiducia placentes occurramus.
 Quam beati, quam felices Servi illi, quos cum venerit
Dominus inveniet vigilantes ! Beata vigilia, qua ad
 Deum universitatis auctorem, omnia implentem et omnia
 20 excedentem, vigilatur ! Utinam me quoque, vilem licet,

14. cf. Rom. 7, 24

17-8. Luc. 12, 37

13. simus) sumus-M

14. eius adventum) adventum eius-M

suum tamen servulum, ita dignaretur de somno inertiae
 excitare, ita illo divinae caritatis igne accendere,
 quo supra sidera exardesceret suae caritatis flamma,
 suae nimiae dilectionis desiderium, semperque divinus
 5 ignis intra me arderet. Utinam illud lignum haberem,
 quo ille ignis iugiter aleretur, pasceretur,
 succenderetur, et illa flamma nutrireretur, quae exstingui
 nesciret, et augeri non nesciret. Utinam talis essem
 meriti, ut mea lucerna semper nocte in templo Domini
 10 mei arderet, ut omnibus domum Dei mei intrantibus
 luceret.

3. Domine, da mihi, rogo te, in nomine Iesu Christi
 Filii tui, Dei mei, illam quae nescit cadere caritatem,
 ut mea lucerna accendi sciat, exstingui nesciat, mihi
 15 ardeat, aliis luceat. Tu, Christe, lucernas nostras
 accendere digneris, dulcissime nobis Salvator noster,
 quo perpetuae luceant in templo tuo, ac perenne lumen
 a te perenni lumine accipiant, ut tenebrae nostrae
 illuminentur, mundi autem tenebrae a nobis fugentur.
 20 Sic lumen tuum meae largiaris, rogo, Iesu mi, lucernae,

6. quo) quibus-TT1 17. quo) quae-M ; perpetuae) perpetuo-M
 19. fugentur) fugiant-M

- ut illius luce illa sancta sanctorum mihi appareant,
 quae te aeternum Pontificem aeternorum in antibus
 magni illius tui templi illic intrantem habeant, quo
 te iugiter tantummodo videam, aspiciam, desiderem,
 5 tantum te amans conspiciam ac coram te mea semper
 lucerna luceat, ardeat. Tuum sit, quaeso, te nobis
 pulsantibus monstrare, amantissime Salvator, ut te
 intellegentes, tantum te amemus, te solum amemus, te
 solum desideremus, te solum meditemur die ac nocte,
 10 semper te cogitemus; et in tantum nobis tuum inspirare
 digneris amorem, quantum te amari Deum decet ac diligi;
 ut omnia interiora nostra tua occupet dilectio, totosque
 nos tuus possideat amor, totos nostros sensus tua
 impleat caritas, ut praeter te aliud amare nesciamus,
 15 qui sempiternus es; quo tanta caritas aquis multis
 huius aeris et huius terrae et huius maris exstingui in
 nobis nequeat, iuxta illud, Et aquae multae non
potuerunt exstinguere caritatem; quod in nobis quoque
 compleri vel ex parte possit, te donante Domino nostro
 20 Iesu Christo, cui gloria in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

17-8.Cant.8,7

2.antibus)atriis-M 3.habeant)habent-M 5.tantum....
 conspiciam)desiderem,expectem-M 8.te amemus)reamemus-M ;
 te solum)et solum-M ; amemus,te)amemus et-M
 14.aliud)alium-M 15.sempiternus)semperternus-T
 18.potuerunt)poterunt-Ti 19.possit)ita corr. ex
 possit-Ti

Instructio XIII

1. Cottidianae experientiae ratiocinationibus
humanae vitae miseria collecta, ac divinis simul territi
oraculis, temerarie licet, parvitatem ingenioli nostri
in superioribus iam diu ostendimus; et licet forte
5 superflua aliis videatur ista nostra loquacitas, a
nobis tamen opportune nobis sermo ortus esse ducitur;
non enim tam alienam quam propriam excitare conamur
ignaviam; ac insuper quamvis minus perfectis sapientibus
satisfecerit ista excogitata ex parte sapientia,
10 incipientibus tamen ac nostrae mensurae tepidis
necessaria et satis apta videbitur. Quia quod nocet
abscondi, quod nocet sileri, non expedit tegere, neque
expedit tacere; inde melius nobis loqui visum est,
quamlibet impolite, quam silere; etenim re vera tutius
15 de istis quam aut de frivolis aliis aut de otiosis
sermocinare iudicavimus. Itaque adhuc, fratres
carissimi, dictis nostris aures praebete, quasi aliquid
necessarium audituri, et animi vestri sitim divini
fontis undis de quo nunc dicere cupimus refocillate,
20 sed non exstinguite, bibite, sed non satiamini; iam

codd. T, Ti, M

Tit.) Item XIII-TTi, Epistola sive Sermo Tertius Decimus-M
1. ratiocinationibus) ratiocinationibus-TTi 2. divinis)
divini-Ti 3. ac) et-M 10. incipientibus) insipientibus-M ;
ac) et-M 12. non expedit tegere) om. M; neque) non-M
13. inde) enim add. M 15. frivolis) frivolis-TTi
16. sermocinare) sermocinari-M

enim vocat nos ad se Fons vivus, Fons vitae, et dicit,
Qui sitit veniat ad me et bibat. Quid bibatis,
 intellegite. Dicat vobis Isaias, dicat vobis Fons
 ipse, Me autem dereliquerunt Fontem aquae vivae, dicit
 5 Dominus. Dominus ergo ipse Deus noster Iesus Christus
 est Fons vitae, et ideo invitat nos ad se Fontem, ut
 illum bibamus. Bibit eum qui amat, bibit qui Dei verbo
 satiatur, qui satis diligit, satis desiderat, bibit
 qui sapientiae amore flagrat. Avide ergo nos gentes
 10 bibamus quod Iudaei dereliquerunt. De nobis enim cum
 gentibus forte dictum est, Praecidit in stupore mentis,
capita potentium movebuntur, nec adaperientes maxillas
suas, quasi pauper edens in absconso; et quasi de
 nobis quoque cum perfectis quibusque de quibus hoc
 15 scriptum est diceretur, aperiamus, tanquam panem
 illum qui de caelo descendit edendo, interioris
 hominis nostri maxillas, ut edaciter edamus et
 quodammodo velociter, ne nos quis videat, quasi in
 absconso comedamus. Ut panem ergo edamus, ut fontem
 20 bibamus eundem Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum, qui

2. Ioann. 7, 37 4-5. Ier. 2, 13 11-13. cf. Habac. 3, 14

1. enim) om. M 3. vobis... vobis) nobis... nobis-M ; Isaias,
 dicat) Isaias, dicit-M 11. Praecidit) praecipit-T
 12. nec) in ea-TT1 ; adaperientes) adaperient-M
 14. quoque) om. M

seipsum nobis quasi sumendum Panem dicit vivum,
qui dat vitam huic mundo, seque similiter fontem
demonstrans ait, Qui sitit, veniat ad me et bibat,
de quo fonte et Propheta dicit, Quoniam apud te
5 est fons vitae.

2. Videte unde iste fons manat; inde enim unde et
panis descendit; quia idem est qui Panis et Fons,
Filius unicus, Deus noster Christus Dominus, quem
semper esurire debemus. Licet eum edamus amando,
10 devoremus licet desiderando, adhuc eum quasi esurientes
desideremus. Simili modo ut fontem, eum semper
dilectionis nimietate bibamus, eum semper desiderii
plenitudine bibamus, et suavitate quadam eius
dulcedinis delectemur. Dulcis enim est et suavis
15 Dominus; licet eum edamus et bibamus, tamen semper
esuriamus et sitiamus, quia cibus noster et potus
non totus unquam sumi potest et bibi; qui licet
sumitur non consumitur, licet bibitur non adimitur,
quia panis noster aeternus est, et fons noster perennis
20 est, fons noster dulcis est. Unde dicit Propheta,

1-2. Ioann. 6, 33 3. Ioann. 7, 37 4-5. Ps. 35, 10

4. dicit) om. M 6. iste fons) fons iste-M ; enim)
nimirum-M 8. unicus) om. M 11. eum semper) semper eum-M
14. dulcedinis) dulcetudinis-T 20. est, fons) est om. M

Qui sititis ite ad fontem; sitientium enim est, non
 saturantium, iste fons, et ideo esurientes et sitientes
 quos alibi beatificavit ad se vocat, quibus numquam
 bibere satis est, sed quanto plus hauserint tanto
 5 plus sitient. Merito, fratres, Fons sapientiae
verbum Dei in excelsis a nobis desiderandus, quaerendus,
 semper amandus sit, in quo sunt, iuxta Apostoli dictum,
Omnes thesauri sapientiae et scientiae absconditi,
 quos haurire vocat qui sitiunt. Si sitis bibo fontem
 10 vitae; si esuris ede panem vitae. Beati qui esuriunt
 hunc panem et sitiunt hunc fontem; semper enim edentes
 et bibentes adhuc edere et bibere desiderant. Dulce
 enim nimis est, quod semper editur et bibitur, et
 semper esuritur et sititur, semper gustatur et semper
 15 desideratur; unde rex Propheta dicit, Gustate et
videte quam dulcis est, quam suavis est Dominus.
 Propterea, fratres, vocationem hanc sequamur, qua ad
 vitae fontem vocamur a Vita qui est Fons, non solum
 aquae vivae sed et fons aeternae vitae, fons lucis,
 20 idem et fons luminis; ab illo enim haec omnia sunt,

1. Is. 55, 1 5-6. Ecclus. 1, 5 8. Coloss. 2, 3
 15-6. Ps. 33, 9

1. est) om. M 4. hauserint) auserint-T 5. sitient) satiant-TT1
 13. est) om. M 15. rex) reor-TT1

sapientia et vita et lux aeterna. Auctor vitae fons
 vitae est, lucis creator, fons luminis est; et ideo
 contemptis his quae videntur, transcenso saeculo, in
 superioribus caelorum fontem luminis, fontem vitae,
 5 fontem aquae vivae, ut rationabiles et sagacissimi
 pisces quæramus, ut ibi bibamus Aquam vivam et
salientem in vitam aeternam.

3. Utinam me illuc dignares adsciscere ad illum
 fontem, Deus misericors, pie Domine, ut ibi et ego cum
 10 sitientibus tuis vivam undam vivi fontis aquae vivae
 biborem, cuius nimis dulcedine delectatus sursum semper
 ei haererem et dicerem, Quam dulcis est fons aquae
 vivae, cuius non deficit Aqua saliens in vitam aeternam.
 O Domine, tu es ipse iste fons semper et semper
 15 desiderandus, semper licet et semper hauriendus.
 Nobis semper Da, Domine Christe hanc aquam, ut sit
 in nobis quoque fons Aquae vivae et salientis in
vitam aeternam. Magna quidem posco, quis nesciat?
 Sed tu, Rex gloriae, magna donare nosti et magna
 20 promisisti; nihil te maius, et te nobis donasti, te

6-7,13,17-8. Ioann.4,14 16.Ioann.4,15

1.sapientia et vita et)scripsi,sapientiae, vitae-T,
 sapientia, vitae-Ti. sapientia, vita-M 3.videntur)
 videmus-M; saeculo)mundo-M 6.ut ibi)uti-Ti, ut-M
 8.dignares)dignareris-M 10.aquae vivae)vivae aquae-M
 11.sursum)susum-Ti 15.et)scripsi, om.TiM
 16.Nobis semper Da)nobis. Da-M

pro nobis dedisti. Unde te rogamus ut sciamus quod
 amamus, quia nihil aliud praeter te nobis dari
 postulamus; tu es enim omnia nostra, vita nostra,
 lux nostra, salus nostra, cibus noster, potus noster,
 5 Deus noster. Inspira corda nostra, rogo, Iesu noster,
 illa tui Spiritus aura, et vulnera nostras tua
 caritate animas, ut possit uniuscuiusque nostrum anima
 in veritate dicere, Indica mihi quem dilexit anima mea,
 quoniam vulnerata caritate ego sum. Opto illa vulnera
 10 in me sint, Domine. Beata talis anima, quae caritate
 sic vulneratur; talis fontem quaerit, talis bibit, semper
 tamen sitit bibendo, semper haurit desiderando, quae
 semper bibit sitiendo; sic semper quaerit amando quae
 sanatur vulnerando; quo salutari vulnere animae nostrae
 15 interiora Deus et Dominus noster Iesus Christus, pius
 ille et salutaris medicus vulnerare dignetur, cui cum
 Patre et cum Spiritu Sancto unitas est in saecula
 saeculorum. Amen.

8.Cant.1,6

12.quae)quoniam-M 13-4.quae sanatur)quem sanat-M
 15.et)ac-M 16.et salutaris)salutarisque-M 17.cum)om.M
 18.add. Hic finiunt Sermones sive Epistolae S. Columbani.
 Scripsit praeterea sermonem de charitate Dei et proximi-M
 (Sequitur hic sermo spurius in M)

REGULA MONACHORUM

Incipiunt capitula regulae.

- I. De oboedientia.
- II. De taciturnitate.
- III. De cibo et potu.
- 5 IV. De cupiditate calcanda.
- V. De vanitate calcanda.
- VI. De castitate.
- VII. De cursu.
- VIII. De discretione.
- 10 IX. De mortificatione.
- X. De perfectione monachi.

Incipit regula monachorum sancti Columbani abbatis.

codd. T, Ti, Tii, O, G, K, E, P, A, F, Aug. & Och.

I. add. sancti columbani abbatis et confessoris-O 3. De silencio-O 4. De cibi acceptione-O 5. De paupertate et cupiditate-O 6. calcanda om. O 8. add. psalorum-O 9. add. monachorum-O 11. De diversitate culparum, Expliciunt capitula-O; add. Expliciunt....tula-Ti 12. Incipit regula coenobitarum et epistole domni columbani XIII (i.e. Instructiones) et penitentie-T, Regula beatissimi columbani-Ti, Regula sancti columbani abbatis-K, E, Incipit regula cenobialis sancti columbani abbatis et confessoris-O Haec sunt capitula in G et K (similiter dividit E, sed non habet tit.) :-

- I. ut primum diligendus sit deus et deinde proximus) et de oboedientia admonet. } supra
- II. de inoboediente et contumace. } cap. I
- III. de murmurante et qui non ex voto oboedit. } cap. II
- IV. de silentio. } cap. III
- V. de abstinencia. } cap. IV
- VI. de paupertate et de cupiditate calcanda. } cap. V
- VII. de vanitate calcanda. } cap. VI
- VIII. de castitate. } cap. VII
- IX. de discretione. } cap. VIII
- X. quia orandus est deus et de ipsa discretione. } cap. VIII
- XI. quod bona fecit deus cuncta quae creavit, et mala vero superseminavit diabolus. } cap. VIII
- XII. quod malum est declinare a bonitate et integritate. } cap. VIII
- XIII. quod inter parvum et nimium rationabilis est in medio mensura. } cap. VIII
- XIV. de mortificatione. } cap. IX

Desunt capitula VII et X supra in G. K. et E.

Primo omnium docemur deum diligere ex toto corde
et ex tota mente et ex totis viribus et proximum
tanquam nosmet ipsos; deinde opera.

I. De oboedientia.

- 5 Ad primum verbum senioris omnes ad oboediendum
audientes surgere oportet, quia oboedientia deo exhibetur,
dicente domino nostro Jesu Christo: Qui vos audit me audit.
(II) Si quis igitur verbum audiens non statim surrexerit
inoboediens iudicandus est. Qui autem contradixerit
10 contumaciae crimen incurrit, et ideo non solum inoboedientiae
reus est, sed etiam contradictionis aditum aliis
aperiens multorum destructor aestimandus est. (III)
Si quis vero murmuraverit et ipse tanquam non
ex voto oboediens inoboediens putandus est. Idcirco
15 opus eius abiiciatur, donec illius bona voluntas
cognoscatur. Oboedientia autem usque ad quem modum
definitur? Usque ad mortem certe praecepta
est, quia Christus usque ad mortem oboedivit
patri pro nobis. Quam ipse nobis per apostolum
20 insinuat dicendo: Hoc sentite in vobis

1-3. Matt. 22, 37 & 39 7. Luc. 10, 16

1. Primum-GKE ; deum) dominum-F 2. ex(bis) om. F ; mente)
anima-KAug 3. sicut nos-F ; opera om. APCEOch
4. tit. sol. in TiF ; Incip regula monachorum I-T
5. primum) audiendum-KAug 8. surrexit-P 9. iudicandus om.
KAug ; est om. FAug 10. contumaciae om. F ; et om. F
11. aditum om. E 13. murmurat-E 17. certe om. KAug ;
praeceptum-APC 17-8. praecepta est) praecipitur-E
18. oboedivit usque ad mortem-K 19. ipse nobis) om. nobis E ;
apostolum) add. suum-E 20. insinuat) affirmavit-E ;
dicendo) dicens-GKECPA ; in) de-T

quod et in Christo Iesu. Qui cum in forma die esset,
 non rapinam arbitratus est esse se aequalem deo ; sed
 semet ipsum exinanivit formam servi accipiens, et
 specie inventus ut homo humiliavit semet ipsum,
 5 factus oboediens patri usque ad mortem, mortem autem
 crucis. Nihil itaque recusandum est oboedientibus
 veris Christi discipulis, quamvis durum et arduum
 sit, sed cum fervore, cum laetitia arripiendum est,
 quia si talis non fuerit oboedientia, non erit
 10 acceptabilis domino qui ait : Et qui non accipit
crucem suam et sequitur me, non est me dignus. Et ideo
 dicit de digno discipulo: Ut ubi ego sum, ibi
et minister meus mecum.

II. De taciturnitate.

15 Silentii regula diligenter custodienda decernitur,
 quia scriptum est : Cultus autem
iustitiae silentium et pax. Et ideo ne reatus de
 verbositate conquiratur, exceptis utilitatibus ac
 necessariis opus est ut taceatur, quia iuxta scripturam
 20 in multiloquio non deerit peccatum. Idcirco

(p.162,20)-6.Phil.2,5-8 10-1.Matt.10,38 12-3.Ioann.
 12,26 16-7.Isai.32,17 20.Prov.10,19

4.spetie-TEPF 6.nichil-AEC 7.discipulis Christi-E;
 durum et)asperum ac-Aug 8.fervore,cum)fervore et cum-
 GAP, fervore et-ECF 10.domino)deo-ECPAug ; qui ait)
 quia ait-F 12.dicit post discipulo coll. AP ; ut om. G;
 sim-F ; ibi)add. sit-APC 13.mecum)add. Finit de
 oboedientia-T 14.De silentio-KGC 15.Silenti-TTi,
 Silendi-F; decernatur-KG 16.cultum-F ; autem)om. G
 18.ac)et-F 20.immultiloquio-T ; peccatum non deerit-APC;
 Et idcirco-AC

salvator ait: Ex verbis tuis iustificaberis et ex
verbis tuis condemnaberis. Iuste damnabuntur

qui iusta dicere noluerunt cum potuerunt, sed mala iniusta
 impia inania iniuriosa incerta falsa contentiosa contumeliosa
 5 turpia fabulosa blasphema aspera ac flexuosa
 loqui garrula verbositate maluerunt. Tacendum igitur
 est de his et talibus et cum cautela et ratione
 loquendum est ne aut detractiones aut tumidae
 contradictiones in loquacitate vitiosa prorumpant.

10 III. De cibo et potu.

Cibus sit vilis et vespertinus monachorum satietatem
 fugiens et potus ebrietatem, ut et sustineat et non
 noceat; holera, legumina, farinae aquis mixtae
 cum parvo pane paxemati, ne venter oneretur
 15 et mens suffocetur. Etenim utilitati et usui tantum
 consulendum est aeterna desiderantibus praemia. Ideo
 temperandus est ita usus sicut temperandus est
 labor, quia haec est vera discretio, ut possibilitas
 spiritualis profectus cum abstinencia carnem
 20 macerante retentetur. Si enim modum abstinencia

1-2. Matt. 12, 37.

1. et) aut-KGAug 3. qui) quia-C 5. blapsema-Tti, blasphemia-KE;
 fluxuosa-APC, afflixuosa-KG, affluxuosa-E, flexicosa-F
 7. est) om. F; his) eis-F 8. est) add. monachis-APC; tumide-
 T, tumidas-GKE 9. vitiosa) om. K; loquacitatem vitiosam-
 APC 10. De abstinencia-GK, De cibi acceptione-C 12. et ut-
 E 13. mixtae) mixta-KE; farina aquis mixta-C 14. paxmate-
 GK, paximate-E, panis paximatio-C 16. Et ideo-C 17. ita)
 vitae-GKEC; sicut temperandus est) om. est-C 19. carne-K
 20. abstinenciae-KC

excesserit, vitium non virtus erit; virtus enim multa
sustinet bona et continet. Ergo cottidie ieiunandum
est, sicut cottidie reficiendum; et dum cottidie
edendum est, vilius et parcius corpori indulgendum est;
5 quia ideo cottidie edendum est, quia cottidie proficiendum
est, cottidie orandum est, cottidie laborandum,
cottidieque est legendum.

IV. De paupertate ac de cupiditate
calcanda.

10 Monachis, quibus pro Christo mundus crucifixus est et
ipsi mundo, cupiditas cavenda est, nimirum dum
non solum superflua eos habere damnable est, sed
etiam velle. Quorum non census sed voluntas quaeritur;
qui relinquentes omnia et Christum dominum cum timoris
15 cruce cottidiani sequentes in caelis habent thesauros.
Idcirco dum in caelis multum sunt habituri parvo extremae
necessitatis censu in terris debent esse contenti,
scientes lepram esse cupiditatem monachis imitatoribus
filiorum prophetarum ac discipulo
20 Christi prodicionem atque perditionem,

10-1.cf.Gal.6,14 15.cf.Matt.19,21

I.abscesserit-T 3.reficiendum)add. est-GKEC 4.partius-
OK 5.edendum est cottidie-E 6.sicut cotidie orandum (om.
est)-GKEC ; cottidie laborandum)om. GKE 8.Incipit de-T;
de paupertate ac)om. TIF ; de cupiditate)om. de-TC
11.ipsis mundi-OCh ; cavenda)calcanda-F 14.et)om. T ;
dominum)pauperem-Och 16.extremo-KGE, et extremo-Och,
et extremae-O 19.filiorum)om.EOch ; profetarum-G ;
discipulorum-GKEC 20.atque)ac-E ; perditionem-GE

- apostolorum quoque dubiis sectatoribus mortem. Ideo ergo nuditas et facultatum contemptus prima perfectio est monachorum, secunda vero purgatio vitiorum, tertia perfectissima dei continuata dilectio ac divinorum iugis amor, qui terrenorum succedit oblivioni. Quae cum ita sunt, paucis nobis opus est iuxta verbum domini, aut etiam uno. Pauca namque sunt necessaria vera sine quibus non transigitur, aut etiam uno, quasi cibo iuxta litteram.
- 10 Puritate autem sensus indigemus per gratiam dei, ut intellegamus spiritualiter, quae sunt illa pauca caritatis, quae Marthae a domino suggeruntur.

V. De vanitate calcanda.

- Vanitas quoque quam sit periculosa brevibus demonstratur verbis salvatoris, qui suis discipulis hac laetantibus vanitate dixit, Vidi satanan sicut fulgur de caelo cadentem, et Iudaeis aliquando se iustificantibus ait, Quod autem altum est in hominibus abominatio
- 20 est in conspectu domini. His et illo

6-7. Luc. 10, 42 16-7. Luc. 10, 18 19-20. Luc. 16, 15

2. et corr. ex ac-E 3. vero) vera-F ; vitiorum) peccatorum-KAug ; tertia) add. vero-GKE 6. ita sint-C ; opus est) opus sit-Ti, opus sunt-TO, opus sint-K, utendum est-E
 7. uno) unum-K ; om. aut etiam uno-E 8. vera) om. E ; quibus) add. vita-BOch, superscr. vita-G ; transigitur-TTiG
 8-9. aut etiam... litteram om. E 9. uno) una-K 10. Puritatem-KAug ; indigemus-KE 12. suggeruntur) suggerentur-KE, commendantur-Och, add. Explicit de calcanda cupidit-T
 13. Incip de-T 14. brevibus) breviter-KEO 15. suis) om. TiF
 16. hac) om. GKEC 17. fulgur-GKE 18. se iustificantibus aliquando-C ; ait) dixit-Och 19. altum) aptum-KAug ; in) om. TiKFAug 20. est) om. TTi ; illo) illius-C

farisei famosissimo se iustificantis exemplo
colligitur, quod interuentrix sit omnium bonorum vanitas
et gloriatio elata, dum bona vane laudata farisei
perierunt, et peccata publicani accusata
5 evanuerunt. Non exeat igitur verbum grande de ore monachi,
ne suus grandis pereat labor.

VI. De castitate.

Castitas vero monachi in cogitationibus iudicatur,
cui nimirum cum discipulis ad audiendum accedentibus
10 a domino dicitur : Qui viderit mulierem ad concupiscendum
iam moechatus est eam in corde suo. Dum enim
votum illius considerat ille cui consecratus est,
verendum est ne inveniat in anima quod abominatur,
ne forte iuxta sancti sententiam Petri habeant oculos
15 luxuriae plenos atque adulterii. Et quid
prodest si virgo corpore sit, si non sit virgo mente ?
Deus enim spiritus in spiritu habitat ac mente, quem
immaculatum viderit, in quo nulla sit adultera
cogitatio, nulla spiritus coinquinati
20 macula, nulla peccati labes sit.

10-1. Matt. 5, 28 14-5. II Pet. 2, 14 17. Ioann. 4, 24

1. phariseo-KE ; famosissimi-C 3. pharisaei-GKE 7. Incipit
de-T 8. vero)vera-FOch 9. cui)om. C ; cum nimirum-C ;
ad audiendum)om. Och ; accedentibus)add. dicitur-E
10. a domino)non-Och ; concupiscendum)concupiscendam-F,
add. eam-GKEP 12. votum)vultum-GKEO 13. anima)animo-F ;
abominetur-C, abominetur-Och 14. sententiam sancti-GKEO ;
habent-F, habeat-OAugOch 15. atque)adque-T ; luxuria...
adulterio-C 16. si virgo)om. si-F ; corpore sit)om. sit-F ;
si non)et non-GKEO ; sit virgo)om. E 17. spiritus)add.
est et-C ; quem)quam-KOch 18. immaculatam-FOch,
immaculatam-KE ; adultera)adulterina-GKE 19. coinquinati)
coinquinacionis-C 20. sit)om. C

VII. De cursu.

De synaxi vero, id est de cursu psalmorum et orationum modo canonico quaedam sunt distinguenda, quia varie a diversis memoriae de eo traditum est. Ideo
 5 iuxta vitae qualitatem ac temporum successionem varie a me quoque litteris idem insinuetur.

Non enim uniformis esse debet pro reciproca temporum alternatione; longior enim per longas noctes, breviorque per breves esse convenit. Inde et cum senioribus
 10 nostris ab VIII Kalendas Iulii cum noctis augmento sensim incipit crescere cursus a XII choris brevissimi modi in nocte sabbati sive dominicae usque ad initium hiemis, id est Kalendas Novembris. In quibus XXV canunt antifonas
 15 psalmorum ((eiusdem numeri duplicis)), qui semper tertio loco duobus succedunt psallitis, ita ut totum psalterii inter duas supradictas noctes numerum cantent, duodecim choris ceteras temperantes tota hieme noctes. Qua finita per ver
 20 sensim per singulas ebdomadas terni semper decedunt

1. Incipit de-T ; cursu)add. psalmorum-C ; hoc cap. om. GKE
 2. vero)ergo-TiF 6. quoque a me-PA ; litteris)add. hoc-PAC
 9. per)om. T 9-10. et apud seniores nostros-C 11. augmentum
 -OA, augmentum-P ; cursus a XII)cum-PAC 12. choris)horis-T
 13. ad)om. PAC 14. antifanas-Ti, antiphonas-PAC
 15. psalmos-P, A (corr. ex psalmorum) ; eiusdem...duplicis)om.
 PAC 16. tertio)tres-PAC ; duobus)om. F ; psallitis)
 psal..tis-T (2 litt. eras.), psaltis-TiF, psallites-O,
 psallunt-AP 17. totius)PAC ; psalterium-TTi 18. numero-TTi
 19. per)om. AO ; Quia finito vero-P

psalmi, ut XII in sanctis noctibus tantum antiphonae
remaneant, id est cottidiani hiemalis XXXVI

psalmi cursus, XXIII autem per totum ver et aestatem
et usque ad autumnale aequinoctium, id est octavo

- 5 Kalendas Octobris. In quo similitudo synaxeos est sicut
in vernali aequinoctio, id est in VIII Kalendas Aprilis,
dum per reciprocas vices paulatim et crescit et decrescit.

- Igitur iuxta viros considerata vigilia est, maxime
cum ab auctore salutis nostrae iubemur vigilare et orare
10 omni tempore, et Paulus praecipit: sine intermissione orate.
Sed quia orationum canonicarum noscendus est
modus, in quo omnes simul orantes horis conveniunt statutis,
quibus absolutis unusquisque in cubiculo suo orare debet,
per diurnas terni psalmi horas pro operum interpositione
15 statuti sunt a senioribus nostris cum versiculorum augmento
intervenientium pro peccatis primum nostris, deinde
pro omni populo christiano, deinde pro sacerdotibus et
reliquis deo consecratis sacrae plebis gradibus, postremo
pro elemosinas facientibus, postea pro pace regum,
20 novissime pro inimicis, ne illis deus statuatur in peccatum

9-10. Luc. 21, 36 10. 1 Thess. 5, 17 13. cf. Matt. 6, 6

1. antiphonae-Ti, antiphonae-C 2. hiemalis) add. ut-T ; XXXVI)
XXV-PA, viginti quinque-C 3. autem) aut-PAO 7. et crescit) et
om. F ; decrescit-C 10. orate) orare-PA 12. convenient-F
13. quibus) quibusque-F 14. horas terni psalmi-PAO
15. augmento-F 20. novissime) novissime-Ti

quod persequuntur et detrahunt nobis, quia nesciunt quid faciunt. Ad initium vero noctis XII psalmi, ad mediumque noctis XII similiter psalluntur; ad matutinum vero bis deni bisque bini per tempora brevium, ut dictum est, 5 noctium sunt dispositi, pluribus, iam ut dixi, semper nocti dominicae ac sabbati vigiliae deputatis, in quibus sub uno cursu LXXV singillatim cantantur.

Haec iuxta communem dicta sunt synaxin. Ceterum vera, ut dixi, orandi traditio, ut possibilitas 10 ad hoc destinati sine fastidio voti praevaleat, sive suae perfectio possibilitatis permittat, vel capacitas mentis illius cum necessitatum consideratione vel vitae qualitas possit admittere, et quantum uniuscuiusque fervor exigerit, si liber ac solus 15 sit, aut eruditionis eius quantitas postulaverit, aut status otium aut magnitudo studii aut operum qualitas aut aetatum diversitas permiserit, ita varie licet unius rei perfectio aestimanda est, quia cum labore ac loco vices partitur. Et ideo 20 licet longitudo standi aut cantandi sit varia, unius

1-2. Luc. 23, 34

3. psallantur-P 5. ut) om. C, ut iam-P; semper om. F
 6. nocte dominica sabbati vigiliae-PAC 8. Ceterum)
 sed-F 9. vera) vero-PO 11. suae) sua-F, om. AP
 12. illius) add. est-AP 13. et) cui-TTIF 14. exigerit)
 exegerit-Ti, extiterit-P, exierit corr. in extiterit-A;
 solus) solutus-F 16. status) statutus-AC; otium) etiam-F;
 magnitudine corr. in magnitudo-A 17. aetatum) aetatis-PAC
 18. perfectio) perfecte-C, perfecte ratio-PA 19. ac loco
 vices) adorationis-PAC 20. sit) om. T

tamen perfectionis erit aequalitas orandi in corde ac mentis
 cum deo iugis intentio. Sunt autem quidam catholici,
 quibus idem est canonicus duodenarius psalmorum numerus
 sive per breves sive per longas noctes, sed per quaternas
 5 in nocte vices hunc canonem reddunt; ad initium scilicet
 noctis ad mediumque eius pullorum quoque cantus
 ac matutinum. Qui cursus sicut in hieme parvus
 aliis videtur, ita in aestate satis
 onerosus et gravis invenitur, dum crebria in noctis
 10 brevitae expeditionibus non tam lassitudinem facit quam
 fatigationem. Noctibus vero reverentissimis dominicis
 scilicet vel sabbatis ad matutinum ter idem
 volvitur numerus, id est ter denis et VI psalmis. Quorum
 pluralitas ac sancta conversatio hunc numerum
 15 canonicum multis dulci indixit suavitate, tamquam
 et reliquam disciplinam, sub quorum nimirum regula nullus
 invenitur lassus. Et cum tanta pluralitas eorum sit, ita
 ut mille abbates sub uno archimandrita esse referantur,
 nulla ibi a conditione coenobii inter duos monachos
 20 rixa fuisse fertur visa; quod sine dei ibi

1. orandi) oranti-F 3. numerus) munerum-F 5. scilicet) om. F
 6. eius) noctis sive-APC 7. Qui) Et is-AP, om. C 8. aliis)
 esse-APC; in) om. APC 9. onerosus) laboriosus-APC
 11. dominicis) dominici-F 12. sabbatis) sabbati-APP 14. ad
 sanctam conversationem-APC 15. suavitate) suavitatem-C
 16. quorum) qua emend. ex quo-F 17. eorum) monachorum-APC
 19. a) om. APC 20. rixae-AP; visa) visio-P, A (corr. ex viso);
 sine) nisi-APC

habitatione dicentis -- Ego in eis habitabo et
inter illos ambulabo et ero illorum deus et
ipsi erunt mihi populus -- esse non posse manifestum est.
 Merito itaque creverunt et cottidie deo gratias crescunt,
 5 in quorum medio deus habitat, quorum meritis mereamur
 salvari a salvatore domino nostro. Amen.

VIII. De discretionem. (IX)

Discretio monachis quam sit necessaria multorum error
 ostendit et aliquorum ruinae demonstrant, qui sine
 10 discretionem incipientes et absque moderatrice scientia
 regentes vitam finire laudabilem non potuerunt: quia
 sicut sine via tendentibus error evenit, ita sine
 discretionem viventibus excessus in promptu est,
 qui semper virtutibus in medio inter utramque
 15 nimietatem positus contrarius est. Cuius impactio
 periculi res est, dum iuxta semitam discretionis directam
 inimici pravitatis offendicula ad diversorum errorum
 scandala ponunt: (X) Orandus igitur iugiter est deus
 quo lumen verae discretionis largiatur ad
 20 illuminationem huius viae tenebris saeculi utrimque

1-3. II Cor. 6, 16

1. habitatione) esset habitatio-APC ; habitabo) habito-APC
 2. ambulabo) ambulo-APC ; et ero illorum deus) om. APC 4. gratias
 -P; crescunt) corr. in accrescunt-A, accrescunt-P 6. domino) om.
 APC ; Amen) om. APC 7. Incip de-T 9. aliquorum) antiquorum-
 Och ; demonstrant) ostendunt-K 13. in promptum-T, in promptu
 -K 14. in medio) in medio-T 15. impactio) in pactio-Ti,
 impar hic-Och 16. est) eius-TTi 18. Orandus est igitur
 deus-GKECF 19. quo) qui-GK, quod-C ; verae) vere-T
 20. illuminationem) in lumen-GTi, interminationem-Och;
 viae) vitae-GKEC

obscurissimis circumdatae, quo sui ad se sine errore
 veri adoratores possint has evadere tenebras. Discretio
 igitur discernendo/^{nomen} accepit eo quod ipsa in nobis
 discernit inter bona et mala, inter media quoque ac
 5 perfecta. Divisa namque sunt ab initio sicut
 lux et tenebrae utraque, id est bona et mala, postquam mala
 per diabolum boni depravatione esse coeperunt,
 sed per deum illuminantem prius ac postea dividentem.
 Inde Abel pius bona elegit, Cain vero impius mala
 10 incidit. (XI) Bona deus fecit cuncta quae
 creavit, mala vero diabolus superseminavit dolosa
 calliditate ac subdola ambitionis intutae suasionem.
 Quae sunt igitur bona? Illa scilicet, quae integra
 sunt ac incorrupta, sicut creata, permanserunt; quae solus
 15 creavit deus et praeparavit, iuxta apostolum, ut in
illis ambulemus; quae sunt opera bona, in quibus
in Christo Jesu creati sumus, bonitas scilicet, integritas
 pietas iustitia veritas misericordia caritas pax
 salutaris laetitia spiritualis cum spiritus fructu --
 20 haec omnia cum fructibus suis bona sunt. His vero

15-7.cf.Eph.2,10.

3.igitur)add. a-GE0 ; accipit-F ; nobis)rebus-F 4.ac)et-
 GEK 5.sunt)om. GEK ; sicut)om. GEK 6.postquam mala)
 postquam bona-E 8.deum)dominum-F 9.pius)om. E ; bonae
 legit-GK ; impius)om. F 10.incidit)incedit-TTi, incoepit-
 F ; fecit deus-F ; cuncta fecit-E 12.intutae)om. KE
 15.et praeparavit)om. GKE 16.ambulamus-E ; bona opera-E
 19.fructu)fructus-K, fructibus-Aug

contraria mala sunt, scilicet malitia corruptela impietas
 iniustitia mendacium avaritia odium discordia amaritudo
 cum fructibus eorum multiplicibus, quae ab eis
 nascuntur. Innumerabilia enim sunt quae de
 5 utrisque contrariis, id est bonis et malis, procreantur.
 (XII) Quod autem declinat a bonitate condita et integritate
 hoc primum malum est, quod est superbia malitiae primae;
 cui contraria est piae bonitatis humilis existimatio
 suum creatorem agnoscentis et glorificantis, quod est
 10 rationabilis creaturae primum bonum. Sic et cetera
 per duplices sensim partes in immanem nominum
 silvam creverunt. Quae cum ita sint, tenenda sunt
 fortiter bona dei habentibus auxilium, quod semper
 orandum est per prospera et adversa, ne aut
 15 extollamur in prosperis in vanitatem, neque deiciamur
 in adversis in desperationem. Ideo continendum
 semper est ab utroque periculo, id est ab omni
 nimietate per temperantiam gloriosam et veram discretionem,
 quae christianae humilitati adhaeret,
 20 et viam perfectionis veris Christi militibus

3.eorum fructibus-E ; quae)qui-GCF 4.sunt enim-E ; de)
 om. C 7.quod)ut-TTIF 9.agnoscentes et glorificantes-
 GKC 11.nominum)omnium-GKE 12.crevere-F 14.per)om. T;
 aut)om. C 15.in vanitatem)om. KAUG; neque)aut-F
 16.desperatione-K ; continenda-KE 17.semper)om. F;
 ab omni)om. ab-C 19.christiani-G 20.veris)veram-GKE

aperit, discernendo scilicet semper in dubiis
recte ac inter bona et mala ubique dividendo
iuste, sive inter utraque foris, sive inter corpus
intus et animam, sive inter opera et mores, sive
5 inter curam et quietem, sive inter publica ac
secreta. Mala itaque cavenda sunt similiter
superbia invidia mendacium corruptela impietas mala
morum transgressio gula fornicatio cupiditas ira
tristitia instabilitas vana gloria elatio
10 detractio, bona quoque virtutum sectanda sunt humilitas
benignitas puritas oboedientia abstinencia castitas
largitas patientia laetitia stabilitas fervor
impigritia vigilantia taciturnitas, quae per
fortitudinem sufferentem et temperantiam moderantem
15 quasi in quadam ponderatrice discretionis statera
stataenda in actu sunt operis assueti pro captu
conatus nostri sufficientia ubique quaerentibus.
Nam cui sufficientia non sufficiunt excessisse
discretionis modum nulli dubium est, et quicquid ipsum
20 modum excesserit vitium esse manifestum est.

1.aperit)apperit-K, ac deum timentibus aperit-C ;
discernendum-C ; semper)add. est-C 2.ac)ut-GKE ; ubique)
om. T ; dividendum-C 3.foris)add. et intus-C 4.intus)
om. KEO ; animam)add. intus-GKE 5.ac)et-GCEF 6.itaque)
namque-E ; sunt cavenda-E ; similiter)scilicet-E
8.gulae-GKE 8-9.tristitia ira cupiditas-E 12.laetitia)
leticia spiritalis-C 16.pro captu)per capitula-F
17.sufficientia)sufficientiam-GKE, om. sufficientia
ubique quaerentibus-C 18.sufficiunt)sufficit-GOch
20.excessit-E

- (XIII) Igitur inter parvum et nimium rationabilis
 est in medio mensura, revocans semper ab omni
 utrimque superfluo, in omni re posita certum ubique
 necessitatis procurans ac irrationabile superfluae
 5 voluntatis declinans. Et haec mensura verae discretionis
 omnes nostros pondere trutinans iusto
 actus nequaquam nos deviare ab iusto permittet,
 neque, si illam vice ducis per directum semper
 sequamur, errorem pati. Dum enim de utraque parte
 10 semper est continendum iuxta illud dictum, Continete vos
a dextris et a sinistris, in directum semper per discretionem
 tendendum est, id est per lumen dei, dicentibus saepius
 atque psalmistae victoris versiculum cantantibus,
Deus meus, illumina tenebras meas, quoniam
 15 in te eripiar a temptatione. Temptatio enim est vita
hominis super terram.

IX. De mortificatione.

- Maxima pars regulae monachorum mortificatio
 est, quibus nimirum per scripturam praecipitur,
 20 Sine consilio nihil facias. Ergo si nihil

10-1.cf.Deut.5,32 14-5.Ps.17,29-30 15-6.Iob 7,1
 20.Eccclus.32,24

1.parvum)pravum-G, parum-Och 2.in medio)inmedio-T ; ab
 omni)om.-E 3.utrimque)utrumque-GKEO 4.necessitates-C;
 praecurans-K ; irrationabiles superflue-C, irrationabiles
 superfluo-KE 5.voluntates-KEC ; discretionis verae-GKE
 6.trutinans)triturans-K ; iustos-KE 7.ab)a-O ; permittit-
 GKEC 8.si)dum-G, per-K, om.E ; illam)stellam-GK,
 stellam quam-E ; vice)vicem-C 9.de)directum-E(superscr.)
 11.et a)om. a-F 13.atque)adque-T, idque-GGK, id quod-E ;
 psalmista-KE ; victoris)victoribus certis-E ; versiculo-
 GKECAug ; cantantibus)canendo-GKAug, cantando-C, canit-E
 17.Incip de-T 18.monachorum)add. propriae voluntatis-PA
 19.est)add. eis-E ; per)add. sacram-F

sine consilio faciendum, totum per consilium est
interrogandum. Inde etiam per Moysen precipitur,
Interroga patrem tuum et annuntiabit tibi, maiores
tuos et dicent tibi. Sed licet duris dura videatur
5 haec disciplina, ut scilicet homo semper de ore pendeat
alterius, certis tamen deum timentibus dulcis
ac secreta invenietur, si ex integro et non ex parte
conservetur, quia nihil dulcius est conscientiae
securitate et nihil securius est animae impunitate,
10 quam nullus sibi ipsi per se potest tradere, quia
proprie aliorum est examinis. Hoc namque
defendit a timore iudicii, quod iam examinaverit iudicantis
censura, cui alieni ponderis imponitur moles
et totum portat quod suscipit periculum; maius enim, ut
15 scriptum est, periculum iudicantis quam eius qui iudicatur.
Quicumque itaque semper interrogaverit, si
servaverit, numquam errabit, quia si alterius erraverit
responsum, fides credentis et labor oboedientis non
errabunt, neque mercede interrogati
20 carebunt. Nam si per se aliquid discussisset qui debuit

3-4.Deut.32,7 15.cf.Matt.7,1 etc.

1.faciendum)add. dum-TTi, add. est-GE ; totum post
consilium coll. E 2.Inde)Unde-APOTii 4.videantur-TTii
5.pendet-G, pendat-KTTiTii 6.certis)ceteris-APCOch ;
deum)dominum-PFAug, ac deum-E 7.invenitur-GKE ; si)et si-
F 8.dulcius)incertius-F ; est)om. PA 9.securius)om. F ;
animi-TTiF 10.ipsi)ipse-GKETii ; quia)quae-TTiF
11.propriae-Tii ; aliquorum-OATTiTii ; exanimis-T
12.quod)quam-F 13.molis-OTTiTii 14.suscepit-GKEAP ;
periculum)om. GKECTii 14-5.enim ut scriptum est)om.
GKEAug 15.periculum)add. est-E 16.Quicumque)add. enim-Tii
17.errabit)erravit-Tii 18.responsum)responsio-GKECTiiAP &
AugOch ; non)numquam-GKE 19.mercedem-KTii ; interrogati)
interrogantes-P, interrogantis-ACTii

interrogare, in hoc ipso arguitur errasse, quod iudicare
 praesumpsit qui debuit iudicari; et si rectum fuerit,
 pravum illi reputabitur, dum per hoc a recto declinavit,
 quia nihil audet per se iudicare cuius officii
 5 est tantum oboedire.

Cum haec igitur ita sint, cavenda ubique est
 monachis superba libertas ac vera humilitas discenda
 sine murmuratione et haesitatione oboedientibus,
 quo iuxta domini verbum iugum Christi suave et onus
 10 eius leve sentiant. Alioquin donec Christi humilitatem
 discant, suavitatem iugi eius et oneris illius levitatem
 non sentient. Humilitas enim cordis requies
 animae est vitiis ac laboribus fatigatae ac unicum
 illius de tot malis refrigerium, et quantum ad
 15 hanc considerationem tota de tantis foris
 vagis ac vanis attrahatur, tantum intus
 requiescit ac refrigeratur, ita ut etiam amara
 illi sint dulcia, ac dura et ardua ante habita
 plana ac facilia esse sentiat, mortificatio quoque, superbis
 20 ac duris intolerabilis, illi sit consolatio cui

9-10. Matt. 11, 30

1. in) om. F 2. iudicari) interrogare-AOE (post qui coll. OE)
 3. pravum) parvum-Och ; reputabitur) deputabitur-APCAug,
 iudicabitur-Och ; declinat-E 4. officium-GKEP 6. igitur
 haec-F ; sint)sunt-TTiTii ; est ubique-E 7. monachis post
 superba coll. AC, post libertas-Tii 8. murmurationem et
 hesitationem oboedientiae-Tii 9. verbum domini-KEO
 11. iugi)iugum-Tii ; et)esse-Tii 12. sentiant-Tii ; enim)
 om. AP 13. est)add. iam-Tii ; fatigatae)non fatigata-GKE
 14. illius)illis-Ti ; de tot)dedit-K, dedit et-G, id et ot-
 Tii ; malis)mali-E 15. tota)tuta-APC ; foris)frigoris-K
 16. ac vanis)acuminis-KE, acuminibus-G ; attrahitur-
 APCF, adtrahantur-Tii 17. etiam ut-TiF 18. sint)sunt-T ;
 ac)om. G 20. sit)fit-GF, est-APC ; consolatio)consideratio
 -Aug

hoc solum placet quod humile ac mansuetum est. Sciendum
autem est quod neque hanc martyrii felicitatem neque
aliud quid utile superveniens poterit perfecte complere quis,
nisi qui in hoc studium singulare posuerit, ut non
5 inveniatur imperatus. Si enim iuxta hoc studium
suas aliquas sectari aut nutrire voluerit intentiones,
continuo interpositorum occupatione detentus turbatus
totus sequi quo iussio ducit gratus semper non
poterit, neque ut competit complere potest
10 qui turbulentus est et ingratus.

Mortificationis igitur triplex est ratio: non animo
discordare, non lingua libita loqui, non ire
quoquam absolute. Suum est semper dicere seni quamvis
contraria iubenti, Non sicut ego volo, sed sicut tu vis,
15 iuxta exemplum domini salvatoris qui et alibi ait,
Descendi de caelo, non ut faciam voluntatem meam, sed voluntatem
eius qui me misit patris.

X. De perfectione monachi.

Monachus in monasterio vivat sub unius disciplina
20 patris consortioque multorum, ut ab alio discat humilitatem

14. Matt. 26, 39 16-7. Ioann. 6, 38

1. humilem-Tii 2. est)om. E; martyrii)materia-Aug
3. quis)om. GKE 6. sectare-GKTii 7. continuo)continua-F;
occupatione)ita corr. ex intentione-E 8. totus)om. GKE;
quo)quod-Tii; ducit)dicat-Tii; gratus)gratusque-F;
semper)esse add. PA 9. potest)poterit-PAO 12. libita
loqui)libet alloqui-K, libere alloqui-Aug, quodlibet
alloqui-GEOch 13. semper est-TiF; seni)sibi-GOch, sive-
KE; seni dicere-PA 14. iubenti)iubentur-Och 15. domini)om.
F; et alibi)om. GKECPATii 16. sed voluntatum)om.
voluntatem-GKPATii 17. misit me-APC; patris)add. Explicit-
C, finit Amen-Tii, Explicit regula sancti columbani
abbatis-K (cap. X sol. in TTiAF) 19. vivat in monasterio-A

ab alio patientiam. Unus enim silentium, alter doceat
 mansuetudinem. Non faciat quod vult, comedat quod iubetur,
 habeat quantum acceperit, operis sui pensum
 persolvat, subiciatur cui non vult. Lassus ad stratum veniat
 5 ambulansque dormitet, ne dum expleto somno surgere
 compellatur. Passus iniuriam taceat, praepositum monasterii
 timeat ut dominum, diligat ut parentem, credat sibi hoc
 esse salutare quicquid ille praeceperit, nec de maioris
 sententia iudicet, cuius officii est oboedire et
 10 implere quae iussa sunt, dicente Moysi, Audi Israel
 et cetera. FINIT REGULA.

10. Deut. 6, 4

3. pensum) pensam-A 8. maioris) ~~maiorum~~-F
 9. officii) officium-F 10. Moysi) moyse-A 11. cetera) tace-AF,
 reliqua-Ti; REGULA) add. Beati Columbani-Ti

REGULA COENOBIALIS.

Incipit Regula Coenobialis Patrum.

I. De confessione ante mensam sive lectorum, et
custodienda benedictione ad mensam, similiter et silentio.

II. Ut lucerna signata fiat, et qui suum proprium
5 aliquid dixerit, et de observatione cultelli ad mensam,
et qui ministrando aliquid perdiderit, et de humiliatione
in sinaxi, et qui perdiderit micas.

III. De eo qui aliquid negligenter perdiderit, et qui
effuderit aliquid super mensam, et qui egrediens domum
10 non se humiliaverit ad orationem, et qui obliviscitur
orationem ante opus, et qui comedit sine benedictione,
et qui regrediens domum non se curvaverit, et de eo qui
haec omnia confessus fuerit.

IIII. Qui in exordio psalmi bene non cantaverit, et
15 qui calicem domini dentibus pertunderit, et qui ordinem
suum non custodierit, et qui riserit in sinaxi, et qui
eulogias accipit, et qui obliviscitur oblationem facere.
De fabulis otiosis et de excusatione et de consilio contra
consilium et de altare concusso.

20 V. De eo qui profert sermonem altum, et qui se excusat,

codd. G, E, C, Co, P, A, Vi, Vii, F, Aug, Och ; Don
1. Incipit) om. G, Regula coenobialis patrum de Hibernia-Aug,
S. Columbanii abbatis regula coenobialis fratrum, siue liber
de quotidianis poenitentiis monachorum-FOch (Haec quae
sequuntur capitula sol. in GFAugOch) 2. lectorum) lectorem-
Aug, lectionem-FOch, lectorum introitum coniec. Seebass
3. custodiendam benedictionem-G ; silentium-G, de silentio-
F 4. fiat) fit-Aug 7. micas) mitras-Aug 12. regrediens)
egrediens-FOch 17. eulogias-G ; acceperit-Aug 19. altari-F

et qui fratri aliquid indicando contradicit, et quod excusantes se non sint filii dei.

VI. De eo qui superbum verbum dixerit, et qui profert sermonem altum, et qui abscondit alicuius crimen donec
5 proferat illud in malum, et qui reprehendit alterius opera, et qui profert correptionem contra correptionem.

VII. De eo qui detrahit alterum et de contentioso, et qui reprehendit superiorem sibi, et de eo qui tristis fuerit, et qui consanguineum suum sollicitat ad malum, et qui
10 vituperat alterius obsequium.

VIII. De eo qui docet consanguineum suum contra seniore suum, et qui priori suo causam suam contradicit, et qui non postulat veniam cum corripitur, et qui visitator vult esse aliorum, et qui coquinam visitant iniussi, et qui
15 extra claustra egrediuntur, et qui conlocuntur invicem prohibiti, et qui dicunt quod non licet eis facere rogata, et de his qui dicunt Facimus quod dicis, et qui scientes transgrediuntur, et cui ceciderit suum crismal.

20 VIIII. De eo qui profert verbum otiosum, et de

1.indicando)in dicando-G 5.opera)opus-Aug 7.alterum) alteri-F 13.postolat-G 14.iniussi)non iussi-Aug 15.egreditur-F 16.qui)add. non-F 18.scientes)escentes-G

paenitentibus fratribus, et de minutis paenitentiis.

X. De fratre qui inoboediens fuerit, et qui dicit et non facit, et qui murmurat, et qui veniam non petit aut se excusat, et qui duos fratres ad iracundiam provocat, et de
5 mendatio, et qui contradicit fratri, et qui interrumpit mandatum, et qui negligenter facit opus sibi iniunctum, et qui detractaverit abbatem suum, et qui aliquid obliviscitur foras vel perdiderit.

XI. De eo qui loquitur cum seculare, et
10 qui opus suum perficit et postea sine iussione aliquid fecerit, et de eo qui bilinguis fuerit, et qui manducaverit in domo aliena, et qui narraverit peccatum praeteritum, et qui de saeculo rediens et saecularia narraverit, et de eo qui consentit ei qui aliquid facit contra regulae
15 praeceptum.

XII. De eo qui suscitatur furorem fratri suo, et de eo qui non venit ad orationem super mensam, et qui dormierit ad orationem, et qui non responderit Amen, et qui transgressus fuerit horam, et qui non audierit sonitum orationis, et qui
20 cum nocturno cingulo communicaverit.

1. poenitentibus (corr. ex petentibus) - G 4. duos) suos - F Och
7. abbatis suo - Aug ; aliquid) om. Aug 8. foris - F
9. cum) om. F ; saeculari - F, seculari (corr. ex seculare) - G
11. fuerit) est - Aug 12. praeteritum, et) add. de eo - Aug
13. rediens et) rediens etiam - F 14. ei) et - F

XIII. De eo qui quarta et sexta feria ante nonam manducaverit, et qui dixerit mendacium, et qui dormierit cum muliere in domo una, et qui non claudit ecclesiam post se, et qui sputaverit in ecclesia, et qui psallendi obliviscitur.

5 XIV. De eo qui tardius ad aliquod signum venerit, et qui sonaverit post pacem, et qui velato capite intraverit, et qui non petit orationem, et qui manducat sine oratione, qui sonum fecerit dum oratur, et qui vel iram vel tristitiam retinet.

10 XV. De negligentia sacrificiorum. Expliciunt capitula.

Incipit ipsa regula coenobialis fratrum.

((Diversitas culparum diversitatis paenitentiae medicam-

I. ((-ento sanari debet. Itaque, fratres karissimi)) Statutum est, fratres carissimi, a sanctis patribus, ut demus
15 confessionem ante mensam sive ante lectorum introitum aut quandocumque fuerit facile ((de omnibus non solum capitalibus ((criminibus sed etiam de minoribus negligentis)) quia confessio et paenitentia de morte liberant. Ergo nec ipsa parva a confessione sunt negligenda
20 peccata, quia ut scriptum est, Qui parva neglegit paulatim
20-p.185,1.Ecclus.19,1

4.psallendo-G 6.sonaverit)somnaverit-G 8.iram vel)om.vel-G
11.ipsa)om. VECF ; fratrum)add. hibernensium-VE, Incipit
penitencialis eiusdem-C 12-3. etc. Omnia quae in Reg. Coen.
sic ((...)) notavi. om. GEVF 14.fratres carissimi)om. O
14-5.detur confessio-Don 15.lectorum)lectulorum-Don
15-6.ante mensam...facile)om. C 16.quandocumque)quantumque-E
18.confessio poenitentiae-Don ; liberat-VEC 19.a)om. Vi ;
sunt a confessione-F 20.peccata) cogitata-Don

defluit ((ut detur confessio ante mensam, ante introitum
((lectulorum vel quandocumque fuerit facile dare)).

Ergo qui non custodierit ad mensam benedictionem et
non responderit Amen, sex percussionibus emendare statuitur.

5 Simili modo qui locutus fuerit comedens non necessitate
alterius fratris, VI emendare statuitur. ((Qui dixerit
((suum proprium aliquid, sex percussionibus.)) Et qui non
signaverit coclear quo lambit ((sex percussionibus)) et
qui locutus fuerit in plausu, id est altiore sono
10 solito sonaverit, VI percussionibus.

II. Si non signaverit lucernam, hoc est cum accensa
fuerit a iuniore fratre et non exhibeatur ad seniore ad
signandum, VI percussionibus. Si dixerit suum proprium
aliquid, VI percussionibus. ((Si aliquod opus vanum
15 ((fecerit, sex percussionibus.)) Qui pertunderit cultello
mensam, X percussionibus emendetur.

Quicumque de fratribus, cui sollicitudo coquinandi
vel ministrandi commissa est, quantum quid effuderit,
oratione in ecclesia post expletum cursum, ita ut fratres
20 pro eo orent, emendare statuitur. Qui humiliationem
(p.184,20-)1.Ecclus.19,1

3.Ergo)Igitur-C; benedictionem ad mensam-C 4.emendari-C
5.Simili modo)om. C ; qui)si-C 6.VI...statuitur)sex
percussionibus-C 8.coclear quo)cocleare quod-C ; et)om.
QVii 9.qui)si-C ; plauso-VE 10.sonaverit)om. C ;
percussionibus-VE 11.signatur lucerna-CV 13-4.Si...
percussionibus)om. CF, Operis peculiaris praesumptio C
plagis emendetur-F ; add. Possessio alicuius rei, quam non
necessitas generaliter omnibus fratribus concessit,
amissione eiusdem et C plagis coerceatur-Och 15.pertunderit-
FDon 17.coquendi-Aug ; sollicitudo post ministrandi coll.
Vi 20.emendari-C ; Et qui-E

in synaxi, id est in cursu, oblitus fuerit, haec est humiliatio in ecclesia post finem cuiuscumque psalmi, similiter paeniteat. Simili modo qui perdiderit micam oratione in ecclesia emendetur; ita tamen haec parva
 5 paenitentia ei iudicetur, si parvum quid effuderit.

III. Quod si ex negligentia vel oblivione seu

transgressione securitatis tam in liquidis quam in aridis amplius solito perdiderit, longa venia in ecclesia dum duodecim psalmos ad duodecimam canunt
 10 prostratus nullum membrum movens paeniteat. Vel certe si multum est quod effudit, quantos metranos de cervisa aut mensuras qualiumcumque rerum intercidente negligentia effundens perdidit, supputans tot diebus illud quod in sumptus proprios rite accipere
 15 consueverat, sibi ea perdidisse sciat, ut pro cervisa aquam bibat. De effuso super mensam decidenteque extra eam veniam in discubitu petere dicimus sufficere.

Qui egrediens domum ad orationem poscendam non se humiliaverit et post acceptam benedictionem non se signa-

2.cuiusque-Och 3.micas)mitras-Aug 4.emendetur)emendari cogatur-Don 5.indicetur-VCF ; parvum)parum-GEVF 6.ex)om. C ; vel)aut-C ; seu)vel-Don 7.quam)tam-EF 8-9.longa...ecclesia)om. Vi 9.dum)add.manu rec. C ; psalmi-VE ; ad duodecimam)om. E, ad duodecimum-Vi ; canuntur-VE 10.iacens prostratus-VE 11.quantas metranas-F, quadranos-C 12.cervisia-VF ; intercedente-VEC 13.supputans)supputatis-GVEC 14.illud quod)ille qui-C 15.sibique-VE ; ea)eam-C 16.De...super)Diffuso supra-C 17.extra eam)extranea-VE ; discubito-VEC ; petere dicimus)om. GCF 19.se non-F 20.se signaverit)resignaverit-VEAug

- verit, crucem non adierit, XII percussionibus emendare
statuitur. Similiter qui orationem ante opus aut post
opus oblitus fuerit, XII percussionibus. Et qui
comederit sine benedictione, XII percussionibus. Et
5 qui regrediens domum orationem petens non se curvaverit
intra domum, XII percussionibus emendetur. Qui vero
frater haec omnia confessus fuerit et cetera usque ad
superpositionem, semipaenitentia id est media paenitentia,
et de his similia; sic temperare interim.
- 10 IV. Qui tusse in exordio psalmi non bene decantaverit,
VI percussionibus emendare statuitur. Similiter qui
pertunderit dentibus calicem salutaris, VI percussionibus.
Ordinem ad sacrificium qui non custodierit ((ad offerendum))
VI percussionibus. ((Sacerdos offerens, qui ungulas non
15 ((dempserit, et diaconus cui barba tonsa non fuerit, de
((rustro sacrificium accipientem ad calicem accedentem, sex
((percussionibus.)) Et qui subridens in sinaxi, id
est in cursu orationum, VI percussionibus; si in sonum
risus eruperit, superpositione, nisi veniabiliter
20 contigerit. ((Sacerdos offerens et diaconus sacrificium

1.emendari-C 1-2.emendare statuitur)om. Don 2.Similiter)
Et-Don 3.opus)om. ViDon 3-4.Et...percussionibus)om. Don
4.comedere-Och ; benedictione)add. praesumpserit-Och ;
Et)Aut-Don 6.persecutionibus-F 8.suppositionem-Aug ;
semipenitencie-C ; paenitentia)om. Och 9.temperare. Interim-
C, om. Och 10.tussem-C, tussiens-Och ; decantaverit)caverit-
C, cantaverit-EOch 11.emendari-C 12.pertunderit-F,
percusserit-C 13.ad sacrificium)sacrificii-C 17.subridens)
subridet-Vi 18.orationum)om.C 19.erupit-E ;
superpositionem-EC ; venialiter-F

((custodientes cavere ne vagis oculis oberrent; quod si
 ((neglexerint, sex percussionibus emendari. Qui oblitus
 ((fuerit chrismal pergens procul ad opus aliquod, quinque
 ((quinqueis percussionibus; si super terram in agro dimis-
 5 ((-erit et invenerit statim, denis quinqueis percussionibus;
 ((si in ligno illud levaverit, ter denis, si ibi maneat
 ((nocte, superpositione.)) Eulogias immundus accipiens,
 XII percussionibus. Obliviscens oblationem facere usque
 dum itur ad officium, C percussionibus.

10 Fabulas otiosas proferens ad alterum, statim semet
 ipsum reprehendens, venia tantum; si autem se non
 reprehenderit ((sed detractaverit qualiter eas excusare
 ((debeat)) superpositione silentii aut L percussionibus.
 Excusationem proferens cum simplicitate quando in
 15 aliquo discutitur et non dicat statim veniam petens,
 Mea culpa, paenitet me, L percussionibus. Consilium
 contra consilium cum simplicitate promens, L percussionibus.
 Qui altare concusserit, L percussionibus.

V. Proferens sermonem altum sine suppressione, nisi
 20 ubi necessitas fuerit, superpositione silentii aut

7.Eglogias-Vii ; immundus)in mundo-Aug 9.itur)eatur-EViAug,
 erat-C ; officium)offerendum-C 11.veniam-C, veniat-Vi ;
 tantum)decem percussionibus-Aug, add. sufficit-Don
 12.reprehenderit)reprehendens-Aug, add. tractantes eas-Don
 13.superpositionem-VE ; L percussionibus)om. Aug, add.
 poeniteant-Don 15.dicit-CDon 16.L percussionibus)om. Don
 17.percussionibus)add. poeniteat-Don 19.suppressione)
 pressionem-Aug 20.superpositionem-E

L percussionebus. Excusans ad veniam similiter paeniteat.
 Qui fratri aliquid indicanti responderit, Non ita
 est ut dicis, praeter seniores iunioribus dicentes
 simpliciter, superpositione silentii aut L percussionebus;
 5 nisi hoc tantum licet, ut respondeat coequali
 fratri suo, si veratius est aliquid quam ille dicit
 et recordatur, Si bene recolis, frater, et alter
 haec audiens non adfirmet sermonem suum, sed humiliter
 dicat, Spero quod tu melius recorderis; ego per oblivionem
 10 in verbo excessi, paenitet me quod male dixi. Ecce
 verba filiorum Dei, si nihil per contentionem, ut ait
 apostolus, neque per inanem gloriam sed per humilitatem
spiritus alter alterum existimans superiorem sibi.
 Ceterum qui se excusaverit non filius Dei spiritualis sed
 15 VI. filius Adam carnalis iudicetur. Quique non cito
 ad portum requiei humilitatis dominicae confugerit,
 nimie contradictionis aditum aliis aperiens
 in superbiae verbo persistens, de libertate
 sanctae ecclesiae in cellula ob paenitentiam agendam
 20 separetur, usque dum bona eius voluntas cognoscatur

11-3. Phil. 2, 3

1. similiter paeniteat) quinquaginta percussionebus-C
 4. superpositionem-E 5. liceat-VE; respondeatur-Och,
 responderit-Aug, om. ut respondeat-C 6. quam) quod-VE
 7. recordatur) respondetur-Aug 10. verbo) verba-Och
 11. si nihil) sine his-C 13. existimantes-C 15. iudicatur-Och;
 Quique) quicumque-Och, qui se-Aug EViiC 16. confugerit) praem.
 non-Vi 17. nimie) nimirum-Aug, nimirum-EO; contradictionum-
 EO; aliis) aliquis-G, aliquibus-F 18. superbiae) superbia-C,
 superficie-F; verbo) om. C 20. voluntas eius-F

atque per humilitatem denuo sanctae congregationi
inseratur.

Qui profert sermonem altum ad reprehendendum opus
hostiarii, ut hostiarius horas non bene

5 custodierit, superpositione silentii aut L percussionibus.

Et qui abscondit aliquod crimen videns in fratre suo,

usque dum corrigatur de alio vitio vel de ipso, et

tunc profert illud adversus fratrem, tribus superpositionibus.

Reprehendens aliorum fratrum opera aut

10 detractans, tribus superpositionibus paeniteat. Proferens

correctionem contra correctionem, hoc est castigans

castigantem se, similiter tribus superpositionibus

paeniteat.

VII. Qui detrahit alicui fratri aut audit detrahentem, non

15 ((continuo)) corrigens eum, tribus superpositionibus.

Qui aliquam contemtionem cum tristitia promit, simili

modo tribus superpositionibus paeniteat. Qui aliquid

reprehendens praeposito suo non vult indicare,

usque dum patri seniori indicet, tribus superpositionibus,

20 nisi haec omnia a confessione verecundiae fiant.

3.altum)vel modicum-C 4.ut)coniec. Seebass, aut-codd. ;
hostiarius)ostiarias-F ; horas)om. Aug, heras-Och ; bene non-C
5.superpositionem-VE 6.abscondens-F ; videns)om. Don
7.dum)om. VE 8.adversum-Don ; superpositionibus)add.
paeniteat-Vi 9.aliorum)autem-E 9-10.Reprehendens...
paeniteat)om. Vi 10.tribus...paeniteat)om. Don ;
paeniteat)om. C 11.correctionem-CAugDon ; castigans-GF
12.similiter)om. ODon 13.paeniteat)om. C ; Ordo sentent.
in C: Proferens...(10-3) Et qui...(6-8) Reprehendens...(9-10)
15.corrigens)arguens-E 16.contencionem-C ; Qui aliquid cum
contradictione aut tristitia promit-Don ; promit)om. GVEF
17.aliquid)aliquem-Och 18.praepositum suum-Aug ; indicari-C
19. patrum-Aug ; patri seniori)abbati-C 20.a)om. C ;
confessione)conventionem-Aug ; verecundiae)verecunda-C

Si quis frater tristis fuerit, ((si fieri potest,
 ((consolationem accipiat)) si sustinere valet, subprimat
 interim confessionem, ut verecundius dicat, quando
 tristitia cessaverit ((orent pro eo fratres)).

5 Si quis dicat ad consanguineum suum, sollicitans
 eum in loco optimo habitantem, Melius est, ut
 nobiscum habites aut cum aliquibus, tribus
 superpositionibus. ((Et)) Qui vituperat alicui fratri

VIII. obsequium dandum, similiter paeniteat. Qui

10 consanguineum docet aliquam discentem artem aut
 quodlibet a senioribus impositum, ut melius lectionem
 discat, tribus superpositionibus.

Qui ad praepositum audet dicere, Non tu
 iudicabis causam meam, sed noster senior aut ceteri
 15 fratres, sive, Ad patrem monasterii ibimus
 omnes, XL diebus castigari oportet in paenitentia,
 ((in pane et aqua)) nisi ipse dicat ((prostratus coram
 ((fratribus)) Paenitet me quod dixi. ((Frater quilibet in
 ((aliquo opere detentus, quamvis fatigatus sit, ita tamen
 20 ((ad oeconomum dicat in propria causa, Si tibi placet dicam

3.confessionem)compassionem-GViOch, compassione-Aug, cum
 passione-EVii ; ut)et-Och 4.tristitia)om, GOch 5.sollicitus-
 Och 6.eum)om. Och ; loco optimo)alio loco-C 7.aut)quam-Vi
 8.vituperet-G ; aliquem fratrem-GOch 9.dandum)danti-G, dantem-
 VCF ; similiter paeniteat)om. Don, tribus superpositionibus-C
 10.consanguineum)add. suum-Och ; discentem)decentem-Don ; aut)
 et aliud-Don, aut aliud-C 11.quodlibet)quidlibet-V, aliquid
 libet-C ; a senioribus)a seniore fuerit-Don ; ut)add. dixerit-
 Don 12.superpositionibus)add. paeniteat-Don 14.noster
 senior)abbas-C 15.sive)simul-GOch ; patrem monasterii)abbatem-
 C 15-6.sive...omnes)om. Don 16-8.quadraginta diebus
 poeniteat, nisi ipsa humiliter dicat, Poenitet me quod dixi-
 Don 18.quod)add. male-C

((ad abbatem, sin autem, non dicam ; in alterius causa,
 ((Si tu iteras, non tibi difficile videatur, si forte ad
 ((abbatem dicam ; ut obediencia custodiatur.

- ((Qui non reportat quod commodat usque in crastinum,
 5 ((si ipse reportat recordatus, sex percussionibus; si
 ((oblitus fuerit usque dum queratur, duodecim. Si quis oblitus
 ((fuerit interrogare debitum penitencie usque in crastinum,
 ((sex percussionibus. Qui murmurat, qui dicit, Non faciam
 ((nisi dicat abbas vel secundus, tribus superpositionibus.
 10 ((Cursus non necessarios aut saltus duodecim plagis. Prohibetur
 ((ne quis alterius teneat manum.

- ((Procuret economus de humanitate advenientibus adhibenda
 ((tam peregrinis quam reliquis fratribus, et omnes fratres
 ((parati sint ad ministrandum cum omni famulatu propter deum.
 15 ((Quamvis economus non senserit aut praesens non fuerit,
 ((ceteri faciant diligenter quod necesse est et custodiant
 ((utensilia eorum, donec assignent ea parata custodi; sin
 ((autem neglexerint, penitencia de his ut videatur adhiberi
 ((ad iudicium sacerdotis.))

- 20 Qui non postulat veniam correptus, superpositione

8. qui dicit) et dicit-Don 9. abbas) senior-Don ; secundus) add.
 similiter-Don 10-1. prohibetur. Ne-C 11. ne) add. pro
 dilectione aliqua-Don 20. correctus-VECOch, correcta-Don ;
 suppositione-Don.

paeniteat. Qui visitaverit alios fratres in cellulis
 eorum sine interrogatione, simili modo paeniteat; aut in
 coquinam post nonam ((sine ordinatione vel iussione))
 ierit, superpositione; aut extra vallum, id est extra
 5 sepem monasterii, sine interrogatione ierit, superpositione.
 Iuvenuli quibus imponitur terminus ut non se appellent
 invicem, si transgressi fuerint, tribus superpositionibus.
 ((Hoc tantum dicant, Scis quod nobis non licet loqui
 ((tecum.)) Et si quis praeceperit eis quod non licet,
 10 ipsi dicant, Scis quod nobis non liceat; et ((si))
 ipse praeceperit ultra, ipse damnetur tribus superposition-
 ibus, ipsi tamen dicant, Facimus quod dicis, ut
 bonum oboedientiae servetur. Illus vero specialius
 cavendum est, ut quomodo inter se mutuo non loquuntur,
 15 sic nec per os alterius fratris conloquantur. Quodsi
 scientes transgressi fuerint, simili modo quasi inter
 se locuti fuissent, paeniteant.

Qui ceciderit crismal ((et)) nihil confringens,
 duodecim percussionibus emendetur.

20 IX. Qui profert verbum otiosum, silentio inter

1.paeniteat)om. VECDon ; fratres)om. Don ; cellis-Don, cella-
 C 2.eorum)seorsum-C ; aut)qui-Och ; in)om. Aug 3.coquina-
 C 4.aut)qui-F ; vallum)cellam-Aug 5.sepem)septa-Don ;
 suppositione poeniteat-Don 6.Iuvenuli)Vincula-G, et vinculis
 -Och, in vincula-VEAug, iuvenibus-C ; appellant-Vii,
 appellant se-E 7.tribus superpositionibus)add. peniteant-E,
 quadraginta percussionibus poeniteant-Don 9.Et)om. Aug ;
 non licet)libet-EAug, licet(om. non)-GVOch 10. liceat)licet-
 C ; non liceat nobis-F 11.tribus super-positionibus)om. E
 12.Faciemus-C 14.loquantur-F 15.conloquantur)loquantur-ViC,
 non loquantur-EVii 18.Cui)cum-Och 19.percussionibus-EV ;
 emendetur)om. EVC 20.verbum)sermonem-C ; silentium-VE

duas horas consequentes condemnari, aut XII
percussionibus.

Paenitentes fratres, quamvis opera difficilia et
sordida faciant, non lavent capita nisi in ((die))

5 dominica, id est octava, sin autem, quintadecima die quaque,
aut certe propter fluentium capillorum incrementum arbitrio
senioris unusquisque in lavando utatur. ((Declinatio
((de via sine interrogatione aut benedictione, sex
((percussionibus.)) Paenitentias minutas iuxta mensam si
10 scierit praepositus mensae imponat, et amplius quam
XXV percussiones ((simul)) non dentur.

Paenitentes fratres et indigentes paenitentia
psalmorum -- hoc est, cui necesse fuerit ut psalmos
adhuc pro visione nocturna decantet, quia pro inlusione
15 diabolica, aut pro modo visionis -- alii XXX,
alii XXIIII psalmos in ordine, alii XV, alii XII,
indigentes paenitentia psalmorum, decantare debent;
qui ergo in nocte dominica et tempore quinquagesimae
paenitentes genua flectunt.

20 ((Si, cui iniunxerit abbas aut praepositus, idem fratribus
1.consequentes)add. debet-F ; condemnare-E 2.percussiones-EV
4.efficiant-VECF ; in)om. F 5.sin)si-F ; quintadecima die
quaque)scripsi, XV diebus-GF, XII diebus-VE, quinto decimo die-
C, decem dies-Co 6.profluentium-Co ; incrementum)add. in-C
7.in lavando unusquisque-VEF, in lavando quisque-Aug
10.scierit)fecerit-Don ; et)om. CoDon ; quam)om. C 11.XXII-VE
12.paenitentiam-VE 13.cui)cum-Vi, quibus-Don ; fuerit)est-CoDon
14.adhuc)om. Co ; decantent-ViDon 15.aut)om. Co, ac-CEVii ;
aut...visionis)om. Vi ; alii XXX)om. CCoEViiDon 16.XXIIII)
viginti sex-Don, 34-F ; alii XV)om. Co(bis scr. alii XII)
17.indigent pene psalmorum-Co ; psalmos-ODon ; decantare debent
quos cum silencio psallere debent-Co 18.qui)quamvis-CCo ;
et)add. in-C ; quinquagesimi-CCo 19.paenitentes)om. Co ;
genua flectunt)genuflectant-CoDon, genua flectant-C 20.idem)
scripsi, de-C

((iteraverit, ita observandum est ut seniori iunior obediat;
 ((si tamen rectum fuerit quod eis indicaverit, observare
 ((studeat. Si quid praeceperit abbas vel economus maior,
 ((et aliud humilior iteraverit economus, ipse obedire debet,
 5 ((indicans tamen in silencio quod praeceperit alius maior;
 ((infra monasterium vero nullus tamen alio imperio precellente
 ((imperet, nisi qui preest.

((Ab initio diei usque noctem commutatio vestimenti et
 ((altera in nocte; intermutentur separatim. Qui ministrat
 10 ((in die dominico aut in alio solemni ad lavachrum
 ((aut ad quamcunque necessitatem, una oratione ante exitum et
 ((introitum eget. Interroget tamen. Si non procul exeat,
 ((signo crucis indiget. Quamvis ambulans signet se, non est
 ((autem necesse ad orientem se vertere. Exiens extra domum
 15 ((quolibet festinans et se signans, non eget ad orientem
 ((conversionem. Ita et in ambulando conveniens quemquam
 ((faciat, si festinet, postulans orationem et se humilians.
 ((In domu, in qua non congrua fiat genuflexio, curvatio
 ((tantum statuatur.

20 ((Si quis voluerit in die sabbati praeparet oblationem

1.iteraverit)scripsi, iter agere-Co 3.abbas...maior)prae-
 posita maior sive senior mater-Co 4.aliud)scripsi, alius-Co,
 alia-Co ; humilior)iunior praeposita-Co ; economus)ordinare-
 Co 5.maior)add. Et si transgrediatur iussa senioris, ipsa
 quo iussit peniteat-Co 6.imperio)ordine-Co 8.usque)add. ad-
 Co ; vestimenti)add. non sit-Co 9.nocte)die-Co ; intermutent-
 ur)scripsi, interrogentur-CCo 10.aut...solemni)coniec.
 Seebass, aut in alia solemnia-Co, vel necessitatem aliquam
 sororum adimplens fuerit-Co 13.Quamvis...se)om. Co 14.autem)
om. Co 15-6.quolibet...conversionem)vel infra domum
 regrediens sed festinans, signet se tantum ita-Co 16.Ita)om.
 Co 17.faciat)om. Co ; si)add. non-Co ; postulet...humiliet-Co
 18.In domu)Si in tegurium aliquod intraverit-Co ; qua)quo-Co ;
 curvatio)inclinare-Co 19.tantum)add. paulatim-Co ; statuatur-
 Co 20.Licitum est ut praeparetur oblacio dominice diei in
 die sabbati - Co

((dominicae; consummato lavacro commutare sacerdotes si facile
 ((fuerit, diacones autem aut ante praeceptum aut post
 ((praeceptum ministerium opportunum preficiant.

- ((Si quis viderit somnium inmundum aut coinquinatus
 5 ((fuerit aut penitens, quando detur praeceptum, stare
 ((precipitur. In magnis autem solempnitatibus quando audiunt
 ((sonum sedere in cottidiano praecepto pens mediante iubentur
 ((sedere. Deinde sonum omnes audientes ad sinaxim initiantem
 ((diei conventus lavent ante oratorii introitus, nisi
 10 ((prius laverint. Primarius ut primus psallat statuatur
 ((et secundus; et non flectatur genu, sed tantum curvatio
 ((fiat. Ordines qui priores in medio fiant oratorii, ceteri
 ((dextra levaque assistant, preter offerentem eidemque
 ((adherentem. In omnique dominica solempnitate ymnus
 15 ((diei cantetur dominice et in die inchoante pasche. Aut
 ((qui ad altare inchoaverit accedere, sacrificium
 ((accepturus, ter se humiliet. Et novi quia indocti et
 ((quicumque fuerint tales ad calicem non accedant, et quando
 ((offertur oblacio nullus cogatur coactus accipere
 20 ((sacrificium preter necessitatem. In omnique dominica die

1. dominicae)om. Co

3.praeceptum)add. se-Co 4.Et quando praedicatur si quis-Co ;
 aut)add. naturaliter-Co 5.aut...preceptum)una cum penitent-
 ibus-Co 6.audiant-Co 7-8.in...sedere)pene mediante praecepto
 praeciuntur-Co 8.sonum)singuli-Co ; sinaxim)add. id est ad
 cursum-Co ; initiantem)coniec. Seebass, imitantem-Co, imitante-
 Co 9.conventus)add. dominice, quando sacrosancta communicare
 debent misteria-Co ; lavent)add. manus-Co ; introitum,
 secundum ordinem earum-Co 10.laverint)add. ordine quo in
 ecclesia introeunt-Co 10-1.Primarius...secundus)om. Co
 11.flectantur genua-Co ; tantum)om. Co 12.Ordines qui)atque-Co
 13-4.preter...adherentem)om. Co 15.et...pasche)et in die
 natalis domini et inchoando pascha, id est cena domini-Co ;
 Aut)om. Co 16.accedere)inter-Co 17.Et novicie et indocte-Co
 19.oblacio...accipere)sacrificium nulla legatur que dum
 inchoetur accipi-Co 20.certas necessitates-Co ; In omni die
 dominico-Co

((et solemnitatem, qui non fuerit in ceteris ad
 ((dominum fundentium preces, oret ipse, aliqua necessitate
 ((cogente. Et quamdiu offeratur non multum discurratur.
 ((Penitens quoque necessitate itineris occupatus ambulansque
 5 ((cum ceteris utentibus licito cibis, si advenerit hora
 ((tertia et longe profiscantur, accipiat et ipse quiddam cibi
 ((pro modo quodam et quod ei defuerit accipiat ubi quiescat.))

In commune autem omnes fratres omnibus diebus ac
 noctibus tempore orationum in fine omnium psalmorum genua
 10 in oratione, si non infirmitas corporis offecerit,
 flectere aequo animo debent, sub silentio dicentes,
Deus in adiutorium meum intende, domine ad adiuvandam
me festina. Quem versiculum postquam ter in oratione
 tacite decantaverint, aequaliter a flexione
 15 orationis surgant, excepto diebus dominicis et a prima
 die sancti paschae usque ad quinquagesimum
 diem, in quibus moderate se in tempore psalmodiae
 humiliantes, genua non flectant, sed sedule dominum
 orent.

20 X. Si quis frater inoboediens fuerit, duos dies una

12-3.Ps.69,2

1.solemnitate precipua-Co 2-3.oret...cogente)oret et ipsa in
 ministerio, quo ob necessitatem detenta est-Co 3.quamdiu)
 quando-Co 8.autem...fratres)cum omnibus fratribus-GVEOch ;
 diebus ac)om. C, diebus et-CoDon 10.ad orationem-CoDon;
 offecerit)hoc fecerit-GVEF, nocuerit-Co 11.debent post
 flectere coll. Co ; animo)moderamine-CoDon 12.Deus)Dominus-F
 13.ter)quater-Vi, om. Don 14.tacite)om. E ; decantaverunt-Co,
 a)in-GOch ; flexione)curvacione-Co, flexu-Don 15.exceptis-
 VECFDon ; et a)etiam et-GF, etiam-VE ; prima)proxima-E, die
 primo-C 16.sancto-VECo 17.in quibus)tantum-Co ; psalmodii-
 Co 18.flectant)flectentes-GVECF, flectent-Don ; sed)et-E ;
 sedulo-VIECF ; dominum)deum-C 18-9.sed...orent)om. Co
 20.una)uno-Och, unum-VECAug

- paxmate et aqua. Si quis dicit, Non faciam,
tres dies uno paxmatio et aqua. Si quis
murmurat, duos dies uno paxmatio et aqua. Si quis
veniam non petit aut dicit excusationem, duos dies
5 uno paxmatio et aqua. Si duos fratres contenderint
aliquid et ad furorem venerint, duos dies uno
paxmatio et aqua. Si aliquis contendit mendacium
et distinctionem confirmat, duos dies uno paxmatio et
aqua. Si quis contradicit fratri et non petit eum veniam,
10 duos dies uno paxmatio. Si quis interrumpit
mandatum et regulam frangit, duos dies uno
paxmatio et aqua. Si quis cum iniungitur ei opus
et negligenter facit, duos dies uno paxmatio et aqua.
Si quis detractaverit abbati suo, VII dies
15 uno paxmatio et aqua; si quis fratri suo,
viginti IIII psalmos, si seculari, duodecim psalmos.
Si quis obliviscitur aliquid foras, si minus, XII
psalmos, si maius, XXX psalmos. Si quis
perdiderit vel deciderit aliquid, sicut pretium
20 eius, ita et paenitentia eius.

1.paximate-Och ; paximatum et aquam-VECAug ; Non faciam)et non facit-Aug, non facit-E, non faciat-V 2.tres)duos-Vi ; unum paximatum et aquam-EC(ita C et in 3,5,7,8,10,11 & 15) 2-3.Si... aqua)om. F 4.aut)et-Vi 4-5.duos...aqua)similiter poeniteat-E 5.contendentes-CAug, Si quis viderit duos fratres et tacuerit contendentes-EV 6.venientes-CEV 7.aliquis)alius-GEVF; contendens-C 8.distinctione-C, dictionem-FOch 8-9.duos... aqua)similiter poeniteat-E 9.eum)om.Aug, ei-VCE 10.interruptit) contradicit-C 11.et)aut-C ; uno)om. G 12.et aqua)om. VC ; Si...opus)Si quis opus quod ei iniungitur-E, Si quis iniungit ei opus-C, Si quis cui iniungitur opus-Vi 13.et aqua)om.EViic 14.detractaverit-Vii, detraxerit-CP ; abbatem suum-VECAug ; VII)4-E 15.et aqua)om. CEV; quis)om. C ; fratrem suum-ViiEC 16.viginti)om. E, venienti-GF ; seculari-CP ; si...psalmos) om.GF 18.maius)magis-Vi ; XXX psalmos)om. psalmos-E 19.deciderit)dederit-GE Och, dixit-Aug, dicit-V

XI. Si quis facit colloquium cum saeculari sine iussu,
 XXIIII psalmos. Si quis quando consummaverit opus suum
 ((et aliud)) non requirit et fecerit aliquid sine iussu,
 viginti IIII psalmos cantet. Si fuerit aliquis
 5 bilinguis et conturbet corda fratrum, I diem in
 paxmatio et aqua. Si quis manducaverit in domo
 aliena sine iussu et venerit domui suae, I diem in
 paxmatio. Si quis enarraverit praeteritum peccatum, unum
 diem cum paxmatio. Vel qui ambulaverit in saeculo et
 10 dicit de saeculi peccato, diem unum in pane et
 aqua. Et tepidus, qui aliquem audierit murmurantem
 et detrahentem aut facientem aliquid contra regulam et
 consentit a confessione, diem unum paxmatio.

XII. Si quis suscitatur furorem fratri suo et satisfaciet
 15 ei postea, et ipse non remittit ei sed mittit eum
 suo seniori, qui suscitaverit furorem viginti
 IIII psalmos, et ille diem I in pane et aqua.
 Si quis voluerit aliquid et prohibet oeconomus
 et iubet abbas, quinque dies. Si quis non venerit
 20 ad orationem super mensam et post cibum,

3.requirens-Aug ; et)aut-EF ; aliquid sine iussione fecerit-C
 4.viginti IIII)tres-E,venientis III-GOch, veniens III-Aug,
 venienti tres-V 5.conturbat-VEO ; corda fratrum)fratres-C
 5-6.I diem...aqua)duos dies unum paximacium-C, I diem
 paxmatio-EVII, unum paximacium-VI 6.domu-C 7.domum suam-Aug,
 om. et...suae-E 7-8.I diem..paxmatio)uno die paximacium-C,
 I diem paxim-VE, I diem in paximatio et aqua-F 9.cum)in-F ;
 OVE ut supra 7-8 10.de...peccato)saeculi peccata-F, de
 saeculo peccatum-VII; uno die-VII-EC, die(om. uno)-VI
 11.tepidus)om. VEOch ; audierit aliquem-VEO 13.uno die paxi-
 macium-C, uno die paximatum et aquam-VE 14.satisfacit-C,
 satisfaciat-FVII 15.mittit)dimittit-C, remittit-Aug ; eum)
 om. VCAug 15-6.sed...seniori)om. E 16.qui...furorem)om. C ;
 viginti)om. E, venienti-GVF 17.illem diem I) illo die-VECAug
 18.Si quid voluerit aliquis-C ; oeconomus)enchonomus-E
 19.veniet-VEAug 20.super)supra-C

- XII psalmos cantet. Si quis dormierit dum oratur,
 si frequens, XII psalmos, si non frequens, VI psalmos.
 Si quis non dicit Amen, XXX verbera. Si transgressus erit
 horam, XV psalmos, cantica graduum, nisi matutina
 5 hiemis, XII psalmos. Et qui non audierit sonitus
 orationum, XII psalmos. Si quis veniet ad
 sacrificium et nocturnum cingulum vel vestis circa
 eum, XII psalmos.
- XIII. Si quis ante horam nonam quarta sextaque feria manducat
 10 nisi infirmus, duos dies in pane et aqua ((vivat)). Si
 quis dixerit mendacium nesciens, L verbera; si sciens et
 audax dicit, duos dies in pane et aqua. Si
 detegatur mendacium eius et ille contendit, VII dies in
 pane et aqua. Si quis monachus dormierit in una domo
 15 cum muliere, duos dies in pane et aqua; si nescivit
 quod non debet, unum diem. Si quis non claudit ecclesiam,
 XII psalmos. Si quis emittit sputum et attingit
 altare, XXIIII psalmos; si parietem attingit, VI.
 Si obliviscitur psallendi seu lectionis,
 20 III psalmos.

1.canet-Vi ; dum)cum-O 2.duodecim psalmos cantet-O ; VI)
 III-EVi 3.erit)fuerit-EO 4.XII psalmos canticum graduum-
 CAug, XII psalmos, si canticam graduum-E, XII psalmos. Cantica
 graduum-V 5.hiems-O, hiemps-GVEF 6.orationum)orationis-C,
 oratione-V, in oratione-E ; psalmos)om. E ; veniat-C
 7.nocturno cingulo vel veste-VEO ; circa)non circa-E
 10.pane et aqua)paximacium et aquam-Aug 12.dixit-EV ; dicit...
 dies)om. O 13.detegatur)coniec. Seebass, denegatur-codd.
 14.domu-C 15.duos)tres-O, in paximatio vel tres dies in
 paximatio et aqua-Aug 17.sputa et contingit-C 18.VI)sex
 psalmos-Aug 19.Si quis obliviscit-C ; psallendi)psalium-E,
 psalmi-Aug ; lectiones-VEO 20.III)quattuor-C

XIV. Si quis tardius veniat orationibus, L, vel
 plausu, L, vel segnius exequerit quod iubetur
 ei, L. Si post pacem sonaverit, L. Si
 contumaciter responderit, L. Si veniet
 5 velato capite in domum, L verbera. Si
 non petit orationem dum intrat domum, L. Si manducat
 sine oratione, L. Si locutus est aliquid in ore suo, L.
 Si sonum fecerit dum oratur, L verbera. Si quis
 iracundiam vel tristitiam vel invidiam retinet contra
 10 fratrem suum, ut tempus tenuerit, ita erit paenitentia
 eius in pane et aqua; si vero primo die confessus fuerit,
 XXIIII psalmos cantet.

XV. Quicumque sacrificium perdiderit et nescit ubi sit,
 annum paeniteat. Qui negligentiam fecerit erga
 15 sacrificium ut siccetur et a vermibus consumetur, ita
 ut ad nihilum devenerit, dimidium annum paeniteat.
 Qui negligentiam erga sacrificium incurrerit,
 ut inveniatur vermis in eo et tamen plenum sit,
 igne comburat vermem et iuxta altare
 20 abscondat cinerem eius in terra et ipse

1.venerit-E, venit-F ; orationi-C, ad orationes-EF ; vel)add.
 cum-Och 2.plausum-EVC ; segnius)signum-G, signis-AugOch ;
 exequerit)exequatur-Och, exequitur-ViE 3.ei)om. F ;
 sonaverit, L)sonitum fecerit, verberum L-E 4.contumaci-C,
 contumace-ViiAug ; respondet-Vi, respondit-Vii ; venit-F,
 veniat-C 5.domo-C ; verbera)om. F 5-6.Si..L)om. F 6.dum)
 cum-C 7.oratione, L)om. L-E 8.verbera)om. E 9.retinet)
 tenet-CEP 10.ut...ita)ad tempus tenuerit et tacuerit ita-Aug
 12.XXXIIII-V, 34-E ; cantet)om. CEP, decantet-Aug 14.anno-C,
 annum I-G ; paeniteat)in poenitentia-FOch 15.consumatur-FOch
 16.dimidio anno-C 17.sacrificium)om. F ; incurrerit)commisit-
 E 18.tamen)add. non-E ; plenus-VEAug 19.comburetur-Aug;
 vermes-GVF, vermibus-C ; et post altare coll. C 20.eius
 cinerem-E ; in terra)intra sub altare-C

paeniteat XL diebus. Et qui neglegit sacrificium
 et immutatum fuerit et panis amiserit saporem, si rubro
 colore, XX diebus paeniteat, si iacinctino, XV
 diebus paeniteat. Si autem non immutatum fuerit colore
 5 sed conglutinatum, VII dies paeniteat. Qui
 autem meriserit sacrificium continuo bibat aquam, quae
 in crismali fuerit; sacrificium comedat. Si de
 cimba vel de ponte seu de equo ceciderit, et
 non per negligentiam sed casu aliquo, diem unum
 10 paeniteat; si autem per contemptum submeriserit, id
 est exierit aqua et non consideraverit de periculo
 sacrificii, XL dies paeniteat. Si autem obtentu
 insoliti pinguioris cybi et non vitio saturitatis
 sed stomachi evomuit in die sacrificii coenam, XX
 15 diebus; si infirmitatis gratia, X diebus paeniteat in
 pane et aqua.

((Qui scit fratrem suum peccare peccatum ad mortem et
 ((non arguit eum, legis ewangelii transgressor notetur, donec
 ((arguat eum cuius malum reticuit et fateatur sacerdoti, ut
 20 ((quamdiu conscientia mala reticuit tamdiu in afflictione
 (17.cf.I Ioann.5,16)

1.Et)om. O 2.et immutatum)ut immutatum-V, ita ut immutatum-E
 3.dies-O ; accinctino colore-Aug ; XV)12-EV 4.dies-O ;
 colore)om. Vi 5.diebus-G 6.ebibat-Aug ; quae)qui-GVC
 7.crisma-C 8.equo)ligno-C 9.uno die-CAug, die uno-EV
 10.submersit-E 12.sacrificium-GVi ; XL)decem-EVAug ;
 diebus-Och ; Evomuit si-E 13.pinguiorisque-E 14.evomuerit-E
 15. gratia) causa-Och 10-6.si autem...aqua)om. O 15-6.si
 infirmitatis...aqua)om. F 16.add. Explicit Regula Hibernen-
 sium-Vi, Explicit regula cenobialis-Vii

((peniteat. Qui parvum peccatum reticuit simili correptione
 ((non eadem afflictione peniteat, sed plagis triginta aut
 ((quindecim psalmos canat. Si de reliquo spernens minima
 ((neglexerit in pane et aqua peniteat, ut peccans iuxta
 5 ((mandatum domini corripiatur. Qui vero arguit non leniter,
 ((notetur donec petat veniam a fratre correpto et plagis aut
 ((quindecim psalmos. Qui peccatum pudendum alicui exprobrat
 ((priusquam inter semet ipsum solum arguat, sicut dominus
 ((dicit, corripiatur donec exprobrato satisfaciat et tribus
 10 ((diebus in pane et aqua peniteat.

((Qui transgreditur regulam iussionis vel disciplinae
 ((generalis, maneat expulsus sine cibo ut in crastinum
 ((recipiatur.

((Qui solus cum sola femina sine certis personis famil-
 15 ((-iariter loquitur, maneat sine cibo vel duobus diebus in
 ((pane et aqua vel ducentis plagis.

((Qui praesumit facere ambasciam non permittente eo qui
 ((praeest libera et ineffrenata processione absque necessitate
 ((quinguaginta plagis inhibeatur. Operis peculiaris praesumptio
 20 ((centum plagis, possessio alicuius rei quam non necessitas

(4,5, & 8.cf.Matt.18,15)

7.alicui)add. deferant-P 8.semet)se et-P

((generaliter fratribus concessit, amissione eiusdem et
 ((centum plagis coerceatur. Necessarium vero ac licitum aliquid
 ((facere dare accipere sine lussione duodecim plagis, nisi
 ((ratio aliqua defendat, ut supplex satisfactio remittat.

5 ((Qui comedens loquitur, sex plagis. Et cuius vox
 ((obstrepit de mensa ad mensam, sex plagis; si de domo foras
 ((vel de foris in domum sonuerit, duodecim plagis.

 ((Egredi vel ingredi in domum aut opus facere sine oratione
 ((et signo crucis duodecim plagis, si aliter fuerit, quinque
 10 ((plagis.

 ((Meum vel tuum dixisse, sex plagis.

 ((Verbum contra verbum simpliciter dictum sex percussionibus.
 ((si ex contentione centum plagis vel superpositione silentii.

 ((Si ordinem psallendi non servaverit sex percussionibus.

15 ((Si statuto tempore taciturnitatis loqui praesumpserit
 ((sine necessitate, decem et septem plagis.

 ((Si quid de suppellectile monasterii per contemptum
 ((amiserit vel dissipavit quis, proprio sudore et operis
 ((adiunctione restituat vel pro aestimatione arbitrio sacerdotis
 20 ((superpositione peniteat, aut una die in pane et aqua. Si

5.loquitur)loquens-0 9.signo)signum-0 17.quid)quis-0

- ((non contemptu sed casu aliquo amiserit aut fregerit, non
 ((aliter negligentiam suam quam publica diluat penitentia,
 ((cunctis in sinaxi fratribus congregatis tamdiu prostratus
 ((in terram veniam postulabit, donec orationum consummetur
 5 ((solemnitas, impetraturus eam cum iussus fuerit abbatis
 ((iudicio de solo surgere. Eodem modo satisfaciat quisquis
 ((ad orationem vel opus aliquod arcersitus tardius occurrerit.
 ((Si decantans psalmum titubaverit, si superfluo, si
 ((durius, si contumacius responderit, superpositione. Si
 10 ((negligentius obsequia iniuncta impleverit, superpositione.
 ((Si vel leviter murmuraverit, superpositione. Si lectionem
 ((operi obedientiaeve praeferens, superpositione. Si officia
 ((statuta segnus fuerit exsecutus, superpositione. Si
 ((demissa sinaxi non continuo ad cellam recurrerit,
 15 ((superpositione. Si cum aliquo ad modicum substiterit,
 ((superpositione. Si ad modicum temporis usquam secesserit,
 ((superpositione. Si cum illo qui cellae suae cohabitator non
 ((est, confabulari quantulumcumque praesumpserit, superpositione.
 ((Si alterius tenuerit manum, superpositione. Si oraverit
 20 ((cum illo qui est ab oratione suspensus, superpositione.

14.continuo)constitutus-O 15.substiterit)subsisterit-O
 18.superpositio-PA

((Si parentum quempiam vel amicorum saecularium viderit
 ((vel collocutus ei fuerit sine iussione, si epistolam
 ((cuiuscumque susceperit, si tribuere praesumpserit sine
 ((suo abbate, superpositione. Si impedierit aliquem a
 5 ((necessarii facti expletione, superpositione. Si per ardorem
 ((mentis legitimum religionis excesserit modum, superpositione.
 ((Si alium ferventem a legitimo facto retinere teporis sui
 ((gratia praesumpserit, superpositione.

((Hucusque et in similibus admissis procedit
 10 ((animadversio spiritalis, ut increpatio quae fit a pluribus
 ((peccanti proficiat in salutem et de cetero cautior
 ((et diligentior emendatione morum deo propitio salvatus
 ((existat.

((Qui autem rixam commiserit, septem diebus peniteat.
 15 ((Qui vero suum praepositum despexerit aut regulam blasphem-
 ((-averit, foras repellendus est, nisi ipse dicat, Penitet me
 ((quod dixi. Si autem non se humiliaverit, quadraginta diebus
 ((peniteat, quia superbiae morbo detinetur.

((Verbosus taciturnitate dampnandus est, inquietus
 20 ((mansuetudine, gulosus ieiunio, somnolentus vigilia, superbus

((carcere, destitutor repulsione. Unusquisque iuxta quod
((meretur coaequalia sentiat, ut iustus iuste vivat. Amen.

((In omni loco et opere silentii regula magnopere custod-
((-iri censetur, ut omne quantum valuerit humana fragilitas,
5 ((quae prono ad vitia praecipitare solet cursu oris,
((mundemur vitio, aedificationemque potius proximorum,
((pro quibus salvator noster Iesus sanctum effudit sanguinem,
((quam dilacerationem absentium in pectore conceptam et
((otiosa passim verba, de quibus iusto sumus retributori
10 ((rationem reddituri, ore promamus.

((Haec superum volentibus carpere iter tendens alti
((ad fastigia summa, rudiumque hominum flagitiis
((atro ambientibus, uni adhaerere deo hac in
((tellure misso, statuimus. Qui immortalia nimirum sunt
15 ((praemia accepturi cum gaudio summo nunquam decidente
((in aevum.

((Explicit regula coenobialis sancti Columbanii abbatis.))

(9-10.cf.Matt.12,36)

4.ut)et-C 5.prona-C ; vitia)add. unde-C ; praecipitari-Co ;
cursu oris)om. C 6.mundemus-C ; proximorum)add. sive proximarum
Co 7.quibus)quo-C ; sanctum)suum sacrum-Co 8.et)add. quam-Co
9-10. rationem retributori-C ; ore promamus)post verba coll. Co
11.superum)supernum-Co 12.summa)summi-Co ; rudiumque hominum)
scripsi, rudique humi cum-C, rudere qui eum cum-Co, relictisque
humo cum- coniec. Seebass 13.hac)coniec. Seebass, ac-CCo
14.statuimus. Qui)coniec. Seebass, statui visa-C, statui Que
visa-Co 16.in evum. Amen-Co 17.om. Co

PAENITENTIALE

Incipit de paenitentia.

A 1. Paenitentia vera est paenitenda non admittere sed
admissa deflere. Sed quia hanc multorum fragilitas, ut
non dicam omnium, rumpit, mensurae noscendae sunt

5 paenitentiae. Quarum sic ordo a sanctis traditur patribus
ut iuxta magnitudinem culparum etiam longitudo statuatur
paenitentiarum.

2. Si quis igitur per cogitationem peccaverit, id est
concupierit hominem occidere aut fornicari aut furari aut
10 clam comedere et inebriari vel certe aliquem percutere sive
discedere vel alia his facere similia, et paratus ad haec
corde complenda fuerit: maiora dimidio anno, minora quadriginta
diebus in pane et aqua paeniteat.

3. Si quis autem peccatis praevaletibus facto peccaverit,
15 si homicidium aut sodomiticum fecerit peccatum, X annis
paeniteat; si fornicaverit semel tantum, tribus annis
monachus paeniteat, si saepius septem annis; si discesserit
et vota fregerit, si cito paenitens redierit, tribus
quadregesimis, si autem post annos, tribus annis paeniteat.

20 4. Si quis furatus fuerit anno paeniteat.

codd. T, Ti, F 1. penitentia (ut semper) - T, poenitentia (ut
semper) - F 10. comedere - T Ti 12. demidio - T 20. furatus
fuerit) furaverit - T

4a. Si quis periuraverit VII annis paeniteat.

5. Si quis percusserit per rixam fratrem suum et sanguinem fuderit, III annis paeniteat.

6. Si quis autem inebriaverit se et vomuerit aut saturatus
5 nimis sacrificium per hoc evomuerit, XL diebus paeniteat.
Si vero per infirmitatem sacrificium vomere cogatur, VII
diebus paeniteat. Si ipsum sacrificium quis perdiderit,
anno paeniteat.

7. Si quis se ipsum coinquinaverit, anno paeniteat, si
10 iunior sit.

8. Si quis falsum testimonium testificatus fuerit sciens
duobus annis paeniteat cum illius rei perditione vel
redintegratione.

Haec de causis casualibus: ceterum de minutis morum
15 inconditorum.

9. Qui facit per se aliquid sine interrogatione vel qui
contradicit et dicit, Non facio, vel qui murmurat, si
grande sit, tribus superpositionibus, si parvum, una
paeniteat. Verbum vero contra verbum simpliciter promptum,
20 L plagis vindicandum est, vel si ex intentione, silentii

1. septem-T ; Si...paeniteat)om. F 4. evomuerit-F
9. coinquinaverit)quo inquinaverit-T 12. II-Ti
18. una)coniec. Seebass, uno-T, uno(superscr. anno)-Ti,
uno anno-F 20. est)om. F ; ex intentione)extentione-T

superpositione; nam si rixa, septimana paeniteatur.

10. Qui autem detrahit aut libenter audit detrahentem, tribus superpositionibus paeniteat; si de eo qui praeest, septimana paeniteat.

5 11. Qui autem per superbiam suam praepositum dispexerit aut regulam blasphemaverit, foras repellendus est, nisi confestim dixerit, Paenitet me quod dixi; si autem se non bene humiliaverit, XI diebus paeniteat, quia superbiae morbo detinetur.

10 12. Verbosus vero taciturnitate dammandus est, inquietus mansuetudine, gulosus ieiunio, somnolentus vigilia, superbus carcere, destitutor repulsione: unusquisque iuxta quod meretur quodaequalia sentiat, ut iustus iuste vivat.

B. Diversitas culparum diversitatem facit paenitentiarum.

15 Nam et corporum medici diversis medicamenta generibus componunt; aliter enim vulnera, aliter morbos, aliter tumores, aliter livores, aliter putredines, aliter caligines, aliter confractiones, aliter combustiones curant. Ita igitur etiam spirituales medici diversis curationum
20 generibus animarum vulnera, morbos, culpas, dolores,

1. paeniteatur) poeniteat-F 13. quodaequalia) quo aequalia-TTi ; vivat) add. Amen-T (sequitur hoc loco Ep. VII in T)

aegritudines, infirmitates sanare debent. Sed quia haec paucorum sunt, ad purum scilicet cuncta cognoscere curare, ad integrum salutis statum debilia revocare, vel pauca iuxta seniorum traditiones et iuxta nostram ex parte intelligentiam
 5 -- ex parte namque prophetamus et ex parte cognoscimus -- aliqua proponamus.

De capitalibus primum criminibus, quae etiam legis animadversione plectantur, sanciendum est.

1. Si quis clericus homicidium fecerit et proximum suum
 10 occiderit, X annis exul paeniteat. Post hos recipiatur in patriam, si bene egerit paenitentiam in pane et aqua, testimonio comprobatus episcopi vel sacerdotis cum quo paenituit et cui commissus fuit, ut satisfaciat parentibus eius quem occidit, vicem filii reddens et dicens, Quaecunque
 15 vultis faciam vobis. Si autem non satisfecerit parentibus illius, numquam recipiatur in patriam, sed more Cain vagus et profugus sit super terram.

2. Si quis ruina maxima ceciderit et filium genuerit, septem annis peregrinus in pane et aqua paeniteat. Tunc
 20 primum sacerdotis iudicio iungatur altario.

5. I Cor. 13, 9

2. purum) pura-F 8. plectuntur-F 12. sacerdotes-T

3. Si quis autem fornicaverit sicut Sodomitae fecerunt, X annis paeniteat, III primis cum pane et aqua, VII vero aliis abstineat se a vino et carne, et non maneat cum alio in aeternum.

5 4. Si quis vero fornicaverit quidem cum mulieribus, sed non filium generaverit et in notitiam hominum non venerit; si clericus, III annis, si monachus vel diaconus, V annis, si sacerdos, VII, si episcopus, XII annis.

10 5. Si quis periuraverit VII annis paeniteat et numquam iuret postea.

6. Si quis maleficio suo aliquem perdiderit, III annis paeniteat cum pane et aqua per mensuram, et III aliis annis abstineat se a vino et carnibus, et tunc demum in septimo anno recipiatur in communionem. Si autem pro amore quis
15 maleficus sit, et neminem perdiderit, annum integrum cum pane et aqua clericus ille paeniteat, laicus dimidium, diaconus duos, sacerdos tres: maxime si per hoc mulieris partum quisque deceperit, ideo VI quadragesimas unusquisque insuper augeat, ne homicidii reus sit.

20 7. Si quis clericus furtum fecerit, id est bovem aut

aequum, ovem aut aliquod animal proximi sui furatus fuerit, si semel aut bis fecit, reddat proximo suo primum et anno integro in pane et aqua paeniteat. Si hoc consuevit et reddere non potuerit, III annis paeniteat cum pane et aqua.

5 8. Si quis autem clericus aut diaconus vel alicuius gradus, qui laicus fuit in saeculo cum filiis et filiabus, post conversionem suam iterum suam cognoverit clientelam et filium iterum de ea genuerit, sciat se adulterium perpetrasse et non minus peccasse, quam si ab iuventute sua clericus
10 fuisset et cum puella aliena peccasset, quia post votum suum peccavit, postquam se domino consecravit, et votum suum irritum fecit. Idcirco similiter VII annis in pane et aqua paeniteat.

15 9. Si quis clericus per rixam proximum suum percusserit et sanguinem fuderit, annum integrum paeniteat; si laicus, XL diebus.

10. Si quis per se ipsum fornicaverit aut cum iumento, II annis paeniteat, si gradum non habet; si autem gradum aut votum, III annis paeniteat, si aetas non defendit.

20 11. Si quis concupiscit mulierem et non potest facere,

1. aequum) add. aut (superscr.) -Ti, equum aut-F ;
furatus fuerit) furaverit-T

id est non suscipit eum mulier, dimidium annum in pane et aqua paeniteat et toto se abstineat anno a vino et carnibus et communione altaris.

5 12. Si quis sacrificium perdiderit anno paeniteat. Si per ebrietatem aut voracitatem illud evomuerit et neglegenter illud dimiserit, III quadragesimis in pane et aqua paeniteat; si vero per infirmitatem, VII diebus paeniteat.

Sed haec de clericis et monachis mixtim dicta sunt; caeterum de laicis.

10 13. Quicumque fecerit homicidium, id est proximum suum occiderit, III annis inermis exul in pane et aqua paeniteat, et post III annos revertatur in sua, reddens vicem parentibus occisi pietatis et officii; et sic post satisfactionem iudicio sacerdotis iungatur altario.

15 14. Si quis laicus de alterius uxore filium genuerit, id est adulterium commiserit toro proximi sui violato, III annis paeniteat, abstinens se a cibis succulentioribus et a propria uxore, dans insuper praetium pudicitiae marito uxoris violatae et sic culpa illius per sacerdotem
20 abstergatur.

15. Si quis vero laicus fornicaverit sodomitico ritu,
id est cum masculo coitu femineo peccaverit, VII annis
paeniteat, III primis cum pane et aqua et sale et fructibus
horti siccis, quattuor reliquis abstineat se a vino et
5 carnibus, et ita dimittatur illi sua culpa et sacerdos
oret pro illo et sic iungatur altario.

16. Si quis autem fornicaverit de laicis cum mulieribus a
coniugio liberis, id est viduis vel puellis, si cum vidua,
uno anno, si cum puella, duobus annis, reddito tamen
10 humiliationis eius praetio parentibus eius, paeniteat; si
autem uxorem non habuit sed virgo virgini coniunctus est,
si volunt parentes eius, ipsa sit uxor eius, ita tamen
ut anno ante paeniteant ambo et ita sint conjugales.

17. Si quis autem laicus cum iumento fornicaverit, anno
15 paeniteat, si uxorem habuit; si autem non habuit, dimidio
anno. Sic et qui uxorem habens propriis membris se ipsum
violaverit, paeniteat.

18. Si quis laicus infantem suum oppresserit vel mulier,
anno integro in pane et aqua paeniteant et duobus aliis
20 abstineant se a vino et carnibus, et ita primum altario

sacerdotis iudicio iungantur et suum torum tunc licito
 maritus ille cognoscat. Sciendum est enim laicis, quod
 tempore paenitentiae illis traditae a sacerdotibus non
 illis liceat suas cognoscere uxores nisi post paenitentiam
 5 transactam; dimidia namque paenitentia non debet esse.

19. Si quis laicus furtum fecerit, id est bovem aut aequum
 aut ovem aut aliquod animal proximi sui furatus fuerit, si
 semel aut bis fecit, reddat primum proximo suo damnum
 quod fecit et tribus XLmis in pane et aqua paeniteat. Si
 10 autem saepe furtum facere consuevit et reddere non potuerit,
 anno et III XLmis paeniteat et deinceps nequaquam facere
 promittat; et sic in pascha alterius anni communicet, id
 est post duos annos, data tamen ante pauperibus de suo
 labore helemosina et sacerdoti paenitentiam iudicanti
 15 epula, et ita abremittatur illi malae consuetudinis culpa.

20. Si quis laicus periuraverit, si per cupiditatem hoc
 fecerit, totas res suas vendat et donet pauperibus et
 convertatur ex integro ad dominum, et tundatur omni
 dimisso saeculo et usque ad mortem serviat deo in monasterio.
 20 Si autem non per cupiditatem, sed mortis timore hoc fecerit,

5. dimidia-Ti ; non debet esse) om. F
 furaverit-T 9. tribus) hic finit T
 eleemosyna-F

7. furatus fuerit)
 14. helemosina)

III annis inermis exul paeniteat in pane et aqua et duobus
adhuc abstineat se a vino et carnibus, et ita animam pro
se reddens, id est servum aut ancillam de servitutis iugo
absolvens et helemosinas multas faciens per duos annos, in
5 quibus illi licito uti facile cibus est cunctis, excepta
carne, post VIIImum communicet annum.

21. Si quis laicorum per scandalum sanguinem fuderit aut
proximum suum vulneraverit aut debilitaverit, quantum
nocuit tantum reddere cogatur; si autem non habet unde
10 solvat, opéra proximi sui agat, quamdiu ille infirmus est,
medicumque quaerat, et post sanitatem eius XL dies in pane
et aqua paeniteat.

22. Si quis laicus inebriaverit se aut usque ad vomitum
manducaverit aut biberit, septimana in pane et aqua
15 paeniteat.

23. Si quis laicus adulterare voluerit aut fornicare cum
sponsa et concupierit mulierem proximi sui et non fecerit,
id est non potuerit, quia mulier eum non suscepit, tamen
ille paratus fuit ad fornicandum, confiteatur culpam suam
20 sacerdoti et ita XL diebus in pane et aqua paeniteat.

24. Si quis autem laicus manducaverit aut biberit iuxta
 fana, si per ignorantiam fecerit, promittat deinceps quod
 numquam reiteret, et XL diebus in pane et aqua paeniteat.
 Si vero per contemptum hoc fecerit, id est postquam sacerdos
 5 illi praedicavit quod sacrilegium hoc erat, et postea mensae
 daemoniorum communicaverit, si gulae tantum vitio hoc fecerit
 aut repetierit, III quadragesimis in pane et aqua paeniteat;
 si vero pro cultu daemonum aut honore simulacrorum hoc fecerit,
 III annis paeniteat.

10 25. Si quis laicus per ignorantiam cum Bonosiacis aut
 ceteris haereticis communicaverit, stet inter catecuminos,
 id est ab aliis separatus christianis, XL diebus et duabus
 aliis XLmis in extremo christianorum ordine, id est inter
 paenitentes, insane communionis culpam diluat. Si vero
 15 per contemptum hoc fecerit, id est postquam denuntiatum
 illi fuerat a sacerdote ac prohibitum ne se communione
 sinistrae partis macularet, anno integro paeniteat et III
 XLmis et duobus aliis annis abstineat se a vino et carnibus, et
 ita post manus inpositionem catholici episcopi altario
 20 iungatur.

6. si gulae) ita corr. ex singulae-Ti 8. pro) om. F
 11. catecuminos) ita corr. ex catecuminis-Ti, catechuminos-F
 18. annis) om. F

Postremo de minutis monachorum augendum est sanctionibus.

26. Si quis vallum apertum in nocte dimiserit, superpositione
 paeniteat; si vero in die, XXIIII percussionibus, si non
 aliis supervenientibus apertum dimiserit. Si quis hunc ipsum
 5 absolute praecesserit, superpositione paeniteat.

27. Si quis lumentum petens solus absolute lavaverit, super-
 positione paeniteat. Si quis vero lavans licito coram fratribus
 stando hoc fecerit, si non necessitate luti largius

(28) abstergeri, XXIIII plagis emendetur. 28. Si quis vero etiam
 10 sedendo in lumento genua aut brachia discooperuerit absque
 necessitate luti lavandi, VI diebus non lavet, id est
 usque ad alteram diem dominicam inhonestus ille lavator
 pedes non lavet. Soli autem monacho secrete stando pedes
 lavare licet; seniori vero etiam publice, sed altero pedes
 15 suos lavante licet stando lavari.

29. Ante praedicationem vero die dominica toti, exceptis
 certis necessitatibus, simul sint conglobati, ut nullus
 desit numero praeceptum audientium, excepto coco ac
 portario, qui et ipsi, si possint, satis agant ut adsint,
 20 quando tonitruum evangelii auditur.

1. augendum) agendum-F 5. processerit-Ti 6. lumentum petens)
 iumentum petens-F, in lumento sedens coniec. Seebass ;
 solus absolute) absque luto coniec. F 10. lumento) iumento-F

30. Confessiones autem dari diligentius praecipitur,
maxime de commotionibus animi antequam ad missam eatur,
ne forte quis accedat indignus ad altare, id est si cor
mundum non habuerit. Melius est enim expectare donec cor
5 sanum fuerit, et alienum a scandalo ac invidia fuerit,
quam accedere audacter ad iudicium tribunalis. Tribunal
enim Christi altare, et corpus suum inibi cum sanguine
iudicat indignos accedentes. Sicut ergo a peccatis
capitalibus et carnalibus cavendum est antequam
10 communicandum sit, ita etiam ab interioribus vitiis et
morbis languentis animae abstinendum est ac abstergendum
ante verae pacis conjunctionem et aeternae salutis compaginem.

FINIT.

OPUSCULA

De homine misero, quid est, aut quid erit.

Cogita non quid es, miser homo, sed quid eris,
quia quod es momentum est, et quod eris semper. Non
sis ergo ipse tibi piger, exerce in breve quod in
aeternum possidebis, repellat pigritudinem laboris
5 temporalis desiderium praemiorum. Spiritualis esto,
si piger non es. Sed si mundus te invitat, vide quo
fugias, quod sequaris; et quod numquam fugit, cur
non sequeris? Quare impatiens es in vilioribus, qui
pretiosior poteras esse in melioribus? Noli esse
10 incertus de certis melioribus, et noli esse certus de
caducis. Respicias in aliis quod alii in te videbunt.
Quid prodest in aquis umbram videre oblectantem? Quid
tibi exsultare aut gaudere per somnia? Sed tamen haec
somnia, longa licet, unicuique brevia sunt; eadem enim
15 totius mundi quasi unius obscurissimae noctis vero
somnia sunt. Expergiscere ergo, O fili, de nocte,
lumen quaere ut videaris et videas, accende lucernam
et lege, cave ne dormias, ne a somniis seducaris, et
fallacitate imaginata decipiaris, ut credas vera esse
20 quae falsa sunt, et surgens postea deceptum te doleas.

codd. R, D tit. Incipit Ordo Lectionum Officii Scī Columbani
Abbatīs-R, Incipit Ordo S. Columbani Abbatīs de vita et
actibus monachorum. De homine misero &c.-D (add. in marg. D,
Ex antiquo MS Floriacensi ab anno circiter 700 exarata)
3.breve) brevi-D 4.pigritationem-D 6.invitat) scripsi,
inritat-R, irritat-D; quo) quid-D 7.quod sequaris) quid
sequaris-D; sequeris-R 8.sequaris-D 13.exultari-R
14.eadem) scripsi, ea dī-R, ea dei (in marg. s.dies)-D
15.unius) noctis add. D; obscurissimae) scripsi, obscurissima
esse-R, obscurissimae est-D; noctis) scripsi, noctes-RD
16.Expergiscere) expergiscere-R 19.fallacitate) falsitate-D
20.et surgens) exsurgens-R

Tua vita rota est, cottidie currit; non te expectat,
vade cum ea. Igitur hinc praepara tibi sumptus; ex agro
alieno secedere iuberis, cave ne tuum vendas. Hic
nihil habes, O homo, in terra de qua nudus natus es, et
5 in qua pulvere dissolveris; ne vendas caelum, ubi
aeterna hereditas est, tamen si non perdidisti. Alioquin
si perdidisti, te ipsum vende ut possis recipere. Quid
dixi, te ipsum vende? Vitia tua vende, et eme vitam.
Quaeris forte quae sint. Superbiam primum quasi vitium
10 primo ante omnia vende, et eme inde feliciter humilitatem,
qua sis Christo similis dicenti, Discite a me, quia
mitis sum et humilis corde, et cetera. Breviori
compendio ista ex integro vendita venduntur, et minori
cupiditate contemnentur, quia radice excisa cuiuslibet
15 arboris non multi penduntur rami. Scito quae vendas
ad huius interitum carnis, ut spiritus salvus sit in
diem Domini nostri Iesu Christi; gulam, fornicationem,
cupiditatem, iram, tristitiam, accediam, vanam gloriam,
invidiam, quae melius fuerat si perdidisses, licet si
20 nihil accepisses.

11-2. Matt. 11, 29 16-7. I Cor. 5, 5
2. sumptus) om. R, sumtus-D 3. cave) vide-D 4. nudus) om. D
9. Superbiam... quasi) Superbia primum-R 11. qua sis) scripsi,
quasi-RD; similis) add. sis-R 12. et cetera) etc.-D
13. minori) minora-D 14. cupiditate) add. habendi-D; contemn-
entur) contempta-D 15. multi) magni-D 17-8. cupiditatem,
fornicationem-D

De Octo Vitiis Principalibus.

- Octo sunt vitia principalia, quae mergunt hominem in interitum:- gula, fornicatio, cupiditas, ira, tristitia, accedia, vana gloria, superbia. De gula castiganda dicitur, Nolite seduci in saturitate ventris. De fornicatione, Fornicadores autem et adulteros Deus iudicabit. De cupiditate autem legitur, Radix omnium malorum cupiditas est. De ira, Qui irascitur fratri suo reus erit gehennae ignis. De tristitia, Tristitia autem saeculi mortem operatur. De accedia, Multa mala docuit otiositas. De vana gloria, Ascendet feter illius qui magnificat opera sua. De superbia, Superbis Deus adversatur, et, Qui se exaltaverit humiliabitur. Haec igitur omnium origines et causae sunt malorum, quae sic sunt sananda per contraria. Gula triplex vincenda est per abstinentiam ieiunii de hora nona in horam nonam et parcitatem cibique vilitatem. Fornicatio autem et omnis immunditia nec nominanda in vobis sint, sicut decet sanctos, per castitatem et continentiam sollicitam et semper timentem. Cupiditas vero nihil

4-5.cf.Luc.21,34 5-6.Hebr.13,4 7.1 Tim.6,10 7-8.Matt.5,22
9.II Cor.7,10 10.Eccles.33,29 11-2.Ioel 2,20 12.Iac.4,6 &
I Petr.5,5 13.Matt.23,12 17-9.Ephes.5,3

codd. R,T,Ti,D,M tit. De octo vitiis-RD, Incipit de VIII vitiis principalibus-TTi, De octo vitiis principalibus-M 1.mergunt)ita corr.ex merguntur-R 2.interitum)add. id sunt-RD 4.castigando-R ; Noli-D ; seduci)duci-M 5.autem)om. D 6.iudicabit)diucabit-R; legitur)dicitur-R 7.est cupiditas-RD 11.ascendit-R ; feter)faetor-R, foetor-TTi 12.superbia)superbis-RD 13.Haec)Hae-D 14.sunt)post omnium coll. M ; sanandae-R 15.triplex)tripliciter-RD 18.immunditia)add. quae-M ; vobis)nobis-RD ; sint)om. D

- habendo proprium vincitur et omnia communia possidendo.
 Ira patientia et mansueta lenitate superanda est.
 Tristitia vero laetitia spirituali et spe futurae
 beatitudinis vincenda est. Instabilitas autem accediae
 5 mansuetudine stabili et unius loci habitatione
 corrigenda est per sobrietatem, Scriptura dicente,
Si spiritus potestatem habentis ascenderit super te,
locum tuum ne dimiseris. Vana gloria quoque et
 elatio immunda atque superbia vera humilitate et
 10 cordis contritione per Dei timorem vincuntur.

7-8. Eccles. 10, 4

1. habendo) habere-R ; et) sed-RD 2. patientia... lenitate)
 mansuetudine et lenitate-RD 4. beatitudinis) beatitudinis-RT ;
 accediae) occiditur-M 6. dicente) add. et-R 7. super te) superbe
 -D 9. atque) adque-T ; atque superbia) et quem superbiae vitium
 praemit-RD 10. vincuntur) add. Finit de octo principalibus
 vitiis-T

De Saltu Lunae.

Sanctus Columbanus Haec de Saltu Lune ait:

De lunari motatione dictaturo non aliunde mihi
sumendum videtur exordium, quam ut diligenti per otium
inquisitione requiratur, utrum in XX & VIIII diebus ac
5 semisse tantum luna semper suum cursum peragat, an tunc
aliqua momenta retineat; quae per aliquot lunas quadam
supputandi difficultate neglecta, nunc tandem in unum
congregata, quodam calculandi compendio reddita videantur.
Omnis igitur lunaris cursus secundum hebraeorum &
10 egyptiorum supputationem potest facere per singulos menses
dies XXVIII & semissem, quia nimis errant, qui lunam
peragere cursum sui circuli XXX dierum spaciis aestimant;
cum diligens inquisitio veritatis ostenderet in duobus
lunae circulis non LX dies sed LVIII debere computari.
15 Ex quo accidit ut nunc XXX nunc XXVIII computari
videatur. Unde et in communibus annis VI lunae XXX &
VI XXVIII peractae videntur; quibus dies CCCLIII
efficiuntur. Si ergo XXVIII & semisse luna naturali quodam
cursu mensem peragere comprobatur, quare luna embolismi
20 XXX computatur, cum nec ab altera luna semissem, hoc est

codd. L,N 1.Lectio S. Columbani De Saltu Lune-N
2.dictaturo)dicturo-N 4.XXVIII-N 15.nunc XXXma nunc
XXVIIIina-N 16.sex lune XXXme-N 17.sex XXVIIIine-N

XII horas, habeat ? Necnon et in februario luna, quae
semper XXVIII ex more computari solet, cum bissexti
dies advenerit, XXX calculatur; ita ut in illa diem
integrum, hoc est XXIIII horas, addi videamus. Per
5 ogdoadē ergo et endecadē VII embolismi & V bissexti
repperiuntur expleti, excepto uno quadrante, hoc est VI
horis, quae de uno bissexto restare videntur. In VII
embolismis, VII semisses supputantur, hoc est tres dies &
XII horae; ubi LXXX & IIII horas computando repperies.
10 In bissextis, CXIIII horas invenies. Quibus omnibus in
unam summam redactis, invenies horas CXOVIII; subtrahe
XXIIII, hoc est incrementi lunaris integrum diem; remanent
CLXXIIII, in momentis scilicet VIDCCCOLX; fac semihoras
et erunt CCCXLVIII; duc CXIII; remanent COXXXV -- tot
15 etiam lunas decennovenalis cicli repperies. Tene supra
scriptas C & XIII semihoras, et fac quartas horarum partes,
et erunt COXXVI -- iuxta pene supradictum lunarum
numerus. Hoc ideo dicimus ut omnem lunarem cursum dies
naturales habere comprobemus XXVIII, et semissem, et
20 horae dimidium, & X pene momenta; unde enim tantam horarum

2.XXVIIIIna-N 7.uno)quinto-N 9.reperies-N 14.duc)abduc-N ;
remanent)et remanent-N 18.dicimus)ita corr.ex diximus-N

ac momentorum multitudinem crevisse dicemus, si unaquaeque,
 ut supradictum est, luna XXVIII dies tantum & semissem
 possidet ? Restat igitur ut sic in plerisque. Ita et hoc
 supputationis compendium habeatur. Quod enim per singulas
 5 lunas supputando neglectum est, totum id in quibusdam
 lunis redditum videmus. Nam cum per decennovenalem ciclum
 CCXXXV lunae peractae videantur, et unaquaeque XXVIII
 dies & semissem ac XXX pene momenta possideat, ex quibus,
 praeter embolismorum ac bissextorum lunas, omnis luna
 10 altrinsecus posita, nunc XXX nunc vero XXVIII supputata
 videtur; in omni embolismo ac bissexto luna XXX numeratur:
 sed cum in omnibus embolismis ac bissextis, quos pariter
 in XII lunis ante ostendimus supputatos, XXX semper luna
 plene a supradicto momentorum numero crescere non potest,
 15 quia duae in omni luna horae decesse comprobentur -- idcirco
 in fine decennovenalis cicli luna XXX, quae eodem anno
 mense novembris XXVIII extinguitur, XXIII horas amittere
 videtur.

7.CCCXXXV-N 10.XXXma...XXVIIIIna-N 11.numeratur)
 numerari-N 13.ante)om. N ; XXXa-N 15.comprobantur-N
 17.novembris)novembrio-N

Oratio

Domine Deus, destrue quicquid in me plantat
adversarius et eradica, ut destructis iniquitatibus in
ore et corde meo intellectum et opus bonum inseras;
ut opere et veritate deserviam tibi soli, et intellegam
5 implere mandata Christi, et requirere te ipsum. Da memoriam,
da caritatem, da castitatem, da fidem, da omne quod scis
ad utilitatem animae meae pertinere. Domine, fac in me
bonum et praesta mihi quod scis oportere.

Amen.

CARMINAIN MULIERES

Omnis mente pius fugiat mortale venenum.

Quod mulieris habet lingua superba malae.

Collatum vitae destruxit femina culmen ;

Femina sed vitae gaudia longa dedit.

CARMEN DE MUNDI TRANSITU

	Mundus iste transibit,		Cottidie decrescit
	Cottidie decrescit;		Vita praesens quam amant;
	Nemo vivens manebit,		Indeficiens manebit
	Nullus vivus remansit.		Sibi poena quam parant.
5	Totum humanum genus	25	Lubricum quod labitur
	Ortu utitur pari,		Conantur colligere,
	Et de simili vita		Et hoc quod se seducit
	Fine cadit aequali;		Minus timent credere.
	Differentibus vitam		<u>Dilexerunt tenebras</u>
10	Mors incerta subripit,	30	Tetras <u>magis quam lucem.</u>
	Omnes superbos vagus		Imitari contemnunt
	Meror mortis corripit.		Vitae Dominum ducem.
	Quod pro Christo largiri		Velut in somnis regnant,
	Nolunt, omnes avari		Una hora laetantur,
15	Importune amittunt;	35	Sed aeterna tormenta
	Post se colligunt alii.		Adhuc illis parantur.
	Parvum ipsi viventes		Caeci nequaquam vident
	Deo dare vix audent;		Quid post obitum restat
	Morti cuncta relinquunt,		Peccatoribus, impiis
20	Nihil de ipsis habent.	40	Quod impietas praestat.

29-30. Ioann. 3, 19

codd. Z, Siii tit.) supplevi ; Columbani carmen esse notat in
superscr. Siii, et manu rec. Z
1. transibit) coniec. Gundlach, transivit et-Z, Siii
2. decrescit) coniec. Gundlach, crescit-Z, Siii 9. differentibus
coniec. Gundlach, deferentibus-Z, Siii 11. vagus) scripsi, vago
-Z, Siii 15. importune) scripsi, inportune-Gundlach, inoportune-
Z, Siii 26. conantur) conantes-Siii 27. sese ducit-Siii
33. regnent-Siii 34. letentur-Z 38. post) postea-Siii

	Cogitare convenit		Caveto, filiule,
	Te haec cuncta, amice.		Feminarum species,
	Absit tibi amare		Per quas mors ingreditur,
	Huius formulam vitae.		Non parva perniciēs.
45	<u>Omnis est caro foenum</u>	65	Plerique perpessi sunt
	Flagrans, licet florida,		Poenarum incendia,
	Sicque <u>quasi flos foeni</u>		Voluntatis lubricae
	<u>Omnis eius gloria;</u>		Nolentes dispendia.
	<u>Orto sole arescit</u>		Poculum impiissimae
50	<u>Foenum et flos deperit;</u>	70	Noli unquam bibere;
	Sic est omnis iuventus,		Inde multos plerumque
	Virtus cum defecerit.		Vides laetos ridere;
	Pulchritudo hominum		Nam quoscumque videris
	Senescens delabitur.		Ridere inaniter,
55	Omnis decor pristinus	75	Scito in novissimis
	Cum dolore raditur.		Quod flebunt amariter.
	Vultus Christi radius		Conspice, carissime,
	Prae cunctis amabilis		Sic esse libidinem
	Magis diligendus est		Ut morsum mortiferum,
60	Quam flos carnis fragilis.	80	Quod vincit dulcedinem.

45-50.cf.Isai.40,6 & Iac.1,10-1.

45.est)coniec. Gundlach, enim-Z,Siii 48.eius)est-Siii
 55.pristinos-Z 55-6.om. Siii 56.raditur-scripsi, eraditur-Z
 61.cavete, filioli-Z 62.feminarum)seminare-Siii
 63.per)om. Siii 67.lubricis-Z

	Noli pronus pergere		Ubi cibo superno
	Per viam mortalium,		Plebs caelestis pascitur,
	Qua multis evenisse		Ubi nemo moritur
	Conspicis naufragium.		Quia nemo nascitur,
85	Perge inter laqueos	105	Ubi aula regia
	Cum suspensis pedibus,		X X X X X X X X
	Per quos captos ceteros		In qua male resonans
	Incautos conperimus.		Nulla vox audita est,
	De terrenis eleva		Ubi vita viridis
90	Tui cordis oculos;	110	Veraque futura est,
	Ama amantissimos		Quam nec mors nec meroris
	Angelorum populos;		Metus consumpturus est.
	Beata familia,		Laeti leto transacto
	Quae in altis habitat,		Laetum regem videbunt;
95	Ubi senex non gemit,	115	Cum regnante regnabunt,
	Neque infans vagiat,		Cum gaudente gaudebunt.
	Ubi laudens Dominum		Tunc dolor, tunc taedium,
	Nulla vox retinetur,		Tunc labor delebitur,
	Ubi non esuritur,		Tunc rex regum, rex mundorum
100	Ubi numquam sititur,	120	A mundis videbitur.

82.vias-Siii 83.qua)coniec. Gundlach, quam-Z,Siii
 96.vagiat)ita corr.ex vagitat-Z 97.laudens Dominum)scripsi,
 laudes Domini-Z,Siii 98.retinet-Siii post 105 versus
 periisse videtur; mendose repet.ex 102 caelestis pascitur-
 Z,Siii 111.mors)coniec. Gundlach, mortis-Z,Siii
 112.metu consumptura-Z 119.mundorum)scripsi, mundus-Z,Siii

VERSUS COLUMBANI AD HUNALDUM.

- C asibus innumeris decurrunt tempora vitae,
 O mnia praetereunt, menses volvuntur in annis ;
 L abitur in senium momentis omnibus aetas.
 U t tibi perpetuam liceat conpraendere vitam,
 5 M olles inlecebras vitae nunc sperne caducae.
 B landa luxuria virtus superatur honesta.
 A rdet avaritia caecaque cupidine pectus.
 N escit habere modum vanis mens dedita curis.
 V ilius argentum est auro, virtutibus aurum.
 10 S umma quies, nil velle super, quam postulat usus.

 H os ego versiculos misi tibi saepe legendos;
 U t mea dicta tuis admittas auribus, oro.
 N e te decipiat vana et peritura voluptas.
 A spice, quam brevis est procerum regumque potestas.
 15 L ubrica mortalis cito transit gloria vitae.
 D a veniam dictis, fuimus fortasse loquaces.
 O mne quod est nimium semper vitare memento.

codd. Si, Sii, Pii, Mi, Mii, U tit.) om. U, achrostichis
 telestichis (Columbanus manu rec.)-Mi, Versus Sancti
 Columbani achrostichis-Sii 2.voluntur-U ; et anni-
 Sii, Pii, Mi, Mii 5.inlecebris-Si 6.luxoria-Si
 10.postolat-Pii 11.ego)nunc-U, Mi, Mii 14.regnumque-Si

VERSUS SANCTI COLUMBANI AD SETHUM.

- Suscipe, Sethe, libens et perlege mente serena
 Dicta Columbani fida te voce monentis;
 Quae licet ornatu careant sermonis honesti,
 Vota tamen mentisque pia testantur amorem.
- 5 Vive Deo fidens, Christi praecepta sequendo,
 Dummodo vita manet, dum tempora certa salutis:
 Tempus et hora volat, momentis labitur aetas.
 Dispice, quae pereunt, fugitivae gaudia vitae.
 Non fragiles secteris opes et inania lucra,
- 10 Nec te sollicitet circumflua copia rerum.
 Sint tibi divitiae divinae dogmata legis,
 Sanctorumque patrum castae moderamina vitae,
 Omnia quae dociles scripserunt ante magistri,
 Vel quae doctiloqui cecinerunt carmina vates.
- 15 Has cape, divitias semper contemne caducas,
 In mentemque tibi veniat tremebunda senectus,
 Quam gelidae tandem sequitur violentia mortis.
 Ultima iam sapiens meditatatur tempora vitae,
 Torpentes senio vires morbosque frequentes
- 20 Incertumque diem leti certosque dolores;

codd. Si, Sii, Pii, Mi, Mii, U tit.) om. U, Eiusdem ad Sethum-
 Sii, Versus Columbani ad Sethum-Pii 1. Sethe) quae so-Mii, U,
 Hunalde coniec. Fabricius et Canisius 2. monentis)
 momentis-Si 7. hora) ora-Sii 8. Despice-Mii, U 9. fragiles)
ita corr. ex fragilis-Si 14. cecinerunt) cerinerunt-U
 17. mortis) carnis (in marg. mortis)-Mii 17-20. om. hoc loco
et add. post 77-Sii

- Multa senem fragilis vexant incommoda carnis.
 Nam matie turpi tabescunt languida membra;
 Tunc genuum iunctura riget, venasque per omnes
 Illius in toto frigescit corpore sanguis:
 25 Sic baculo nitens artus sustentat inertes.
 Quid tristis memorem gemitus, quid tedia mentis ?
 Somnus abest oculis, illum sonus excitat omnis.
 Quid tunc argenti, fulvi quid proderit auri
 Improba congeries multos collecta per annos ?
 30 Munera quid procerum ? Ditis quid prandia mensae ?
 Quid meminisse iuvat transactae gaudia vitae,
 Venerit extremi tandem cum terminus aevi ?
 Haec, dum vita volat, vigili qui mente retractat,
 Spernit avaritiam vanosque refutat honores.
 35 Quid modo terrenis mentes intendere curis
 Mortales cupiunt ? Quid turpia lucra sequuntur ?
 Semper avarus eget nummo, testante poeta,
 Crescit amor nummi, quantum ipsa pecunia crescit.
 Indiget inter opes nec habet quod habere videtur,
 40 Ille domi solus nummos abscondit in arca

21.vexant)ita corr.ex veniunt-Sii ; carnis)ita corr.ex
 carmis-Si 26.memorem)ita corr.ex memoram-Sii 30.Ditis)
 dictis-Pii 33.volat)ita corr.ex valet-Mii, valet-U
 36.cupiunt)capiunt (a eras.)-Si, post Quid coll. Pii ;
 secuntur-Mii,Sii 37.nummo)ita corr.ex mummo-Si ; poeta)
 superscr. Si 38.pecunia)ita corr.ex pecuna-Sii
 40.arca)terra-Pii

- Divitias cumulans; dum sese nescit amare,
 Plus amat heredem, servat cui cuncta fidelis.
 Omnium felix, parcus cui sufficit usus,
 Corporis ut curam moderamine temperet aequo.
- 45 Non misera capitur caecaque cupidine rerum,
 Nec maiora cupit, quam quae natura reposcit;
 Non lucri cupidus nummis marsuppia replet,
 Nec molles cumulat tinearum ad pabula vestes;
 Pascere non pingui procurat fruge cavallos,
- 50 Nec trepido tales volvit sub pectore curas,
 Ne subitis pereat collecta pecunia flammis,
 Aut fracta nummos rapiat fur improbus arca.
 Vivitur argento sine iam, sine vivitur auro.
 Nudi nascuntur, nudos quoque terra receptat.
- 55 Divitibus nigri reserantur limina Ditis,
 Pauperibusque piis caelestia regna patescunt.
 Temnere divitias monuit salvator avaros:
 Quisquis amat Christum, sequitur vestigia Christi:
 Nam brevis et fragilis moriturae gloria carnis
- 60 Quicquid habet, rapidi velox fuga temporis aufert.

42.servat cui)parcus qui-U 46.cupit)superscr. Sii ;
 quae)que (ve manu rec.)-Mi ; reposcit)ita corr.ex poposcit-
 Mi 47.nummis)nimis-Si 48.molles)ita corr.ex moles-Mi ;
 cumulat tinearum)cum latinearum-Si, cumulat tinerum-U
 50.trepido)rapido-Mii,U ; curas)caras-Si 51.subitis)ita
 corr.ex subitas-Mi ; pereat)pareat-Si 54.nascuntur)
 ita corr.ex nascuntus-Sii, ex nascitur-Mi ; receptat)
 ita corr.ex receperat-Mi 55.reseruntur-U ; om. vers. Pii
 59.Nam)est-U 60.rapidi)rapidus-Mii,U

- Pulchre veridici cecinit vox talia vatis:
 "Tempora dinumerans aevi vitaeque caducae
 Omnia tempus agit, cum tempore cuncta trahuntur.
 Alternant elementa vices et tempora mutant;
 65 Accipiunt augmenta dies noctesque vicissim.
 Tempora sunt florum, retinet sua tempora messis;
 Sic iterum spisso vestitur gramine campus.
 Tempora gaudendi, sunt tempora certa dolendi;
 Tempora sunt vitae, sunt tristia tempora mortis.
 70 Omnia dat, tollit minuitque volatile tempus.
 Ver, aestas, autumnus, hiems, redit annus in annum;
 Omnia cum redeunt, homini sua non redit aetas."
 Haec sapiens omni semper reminiscitur hora,
 Atque domum luctus epulis praeponit opimis.
 75 Ultima nunc humili concludam verba precatu:
 Sis memor ipse mei, versus cum legeris istos,
 Tempora sic habeas optatae longa senectae.

61. Pulchre) pulchrae-Pii ; veridici) ita corr. ex meridici-Si
 64. vices) vice-Si; om. vers. Pii 66. retinet) retinent-Mii ;
 messes-Mii 67. iterum) florum-Mii, U 71. aetas-Pii
 72. cum) superscr. Mi 73. sapiens) sepiens-Pii ; semper)
superscr. Mi 73-7. om. U 75. Ultimo-Pii 77. senectae) add.
 Finiunt versus Columbanii-Mi, Expliciunt versus Columbanii-Mii

CARMEN NAVALE

- En silvis caesa fluctu meat acta carina
 Bicornis Hreni et pelagus perlabitur uncta.
 Heia viri ! nostrum reboans echo sonet heia !
 Extollunt venti flatus, nocet horridus imber,
 5 Sed vis apta virum superat sternitque procellam.
 Heia viri ! nostrum reboans echo sonet heia !
 Nam caedunt nimbi studio, caeditque procella,
 Cuncta domat nisus, labor improbus omnia vincit.
 Heia viri ! nostrum reboans echo sonet heia !
 10 Durate et vosmet rebus servate secundis,
 O passi graviora, dabit deus his quoque finem.
 Heia viri ! nostrum reboans echo sonet heia !
 Sic inimicus agit invisus corda fatigans,
 Ac male temptando quatit intima corda furore.
 15 Vestra, viri, Christum memorans mens personet heia !
 State animo fixi, hostisque spernite strofas,
 Virtutum vosmet armis defendite rite.
 Vestra, viri, Christum memorans mens personet heia !
 Firma fides cuncta superat studiumque beatum,
 20 Hostis et antiquus cedens sua spicula frangit.
 Vestra, viri, Christum memorans mens personet heia !
 Rex quoque virtutum, rerum fons, summa potestas,
 Certanti spondet, vincenti praemia donat.
 Vestra, viri, Christum memorans mens personet heia !

cod. Q tit.)....banus-Q
procellum-Q

5.procellam)scripsi,

COLUMBANUS FIDOLIO FRATRI SUO.

	Accipe, quaeso,		Non quod avarus
	Nunc bipedali		Semper egendo
	Condita versu		Congregat aurum,
	Carminulorum		Quod <u>sapientum</u>
5	Munera parva ;	25	Lumina <u>caecat</u>
	Tuque frequenter		Et velut ignis
	Mutua nobis		Flamma perurit
	Obsequiorum		Improba corde.
	Debita redde.		Saepe nefanda
10	Nam velut aestu	30	Crimina multis
	Flantibus austris		Suggestit auri
	Arida gaudent		Dira cupido,
	Imbribus arva,		E quibus ista
	Sic tua nostras		Nunc tibi pauca
15	Missa frequenter	35	Tempore prisco
	Laetificabat		Gesta retexam.
	Pagina mentes.		Extitit ingens
	Non ego posco		Causa malorum
	Nunc periturae		Aurea pellis.
20	Munera gazae	40	Corruit auri

24-5. cf. Deut. 16, 19

codd. B, Si, Sii, Pii tit.) Patri-B, add. EKATOMETPON.
 KATACEPBONTEAON -B, Versus sancti Columbanus ad
 Petolum-Si, Columbanus Fedolio-Sii, Pii
 2. bipedali-B 4-41. om. B 16. laetificavit-Pii 28. corda)
ita corr. ex corta-Si 33. E) ex-Sii, Pii 39. Aurea) ariete-Si

	Munere parvo		Femina saepe
	Cena deorum,		Perdit ob aurum
	Et tribus illis		Casta pudorem.
	Maxima lis est		Non Iovis auri
45	Orta deabus;	65	Fluxit in imbre;
	Hinc populavit		Sed quod adulter
	Troiugenarum		Obtulit aurum,
	Ditiae regna		Aureus ille
	Dorica pubes.		Fingitur imber.
50	Iuraque legum	70	Amphiaraum
	Fasque fidesque		Prodedit auro
	Rumpitur auro.		Perfida coniunx.
	Impia quippe		Hectoris heros
	Pigmalionis		Vendedit auro
55	Regis ob aurum	75	Corpus Achillis.
	Gesta leguntur.		Hoc reserari
	Sic Polidorum		Munere certo
	Hospes avarus		Nigra feruntur
	Incitus auro		Limina Ditis.
60	Fraude necavit.	80	Nunc ego possem

43. Et) Ac-Si, Sii, Pii; etribs-B 46. Hic-B 48. om. vers. B
 49. Durica-B 50. Miraque-B 52. Rumpit ob aurum-B
 58. Opec abarus-B 60. negabit-B 62. Prodit-B 63. pudore-B
 64. Non iquis auri-B 69. Aureas-Si 70. Amfiaraum-Sii,
 Anfiaraum-B 71. Prodit ob aurum-B 73. Hectores-Si,
 Haectoris-Pii 74. Vendedit-B 75. Achilles-Si, Sii, Pii
 76. Hoc)h-Si, hec-B 78. feruntur) fuerunt-B 79. Lumina-B

	Plura referre,		Grebra receptas ?
	Ni brevitatis		Odit iniqui
	Causa vetaret.		Munera Christus.
	Haec tibi, frater		Haec sapienti
85	Inclite, parva	105	Dispicienda,
	Litterularum		Qui fugitivae
	Munera mittens,		Atque caducae
	Suggero vanas		Cernere debet
	Linquere curas;		Tempora vitae;
90	Desine, quaeso,	110	Sufficit autem
	Nunc animosos		Ista loquaci
	Pascere pingui		Nunc cecinisse
	Farre caballos,		Carmina versu.
	Lucraque lucris		Nam nova forsan
95	Accumulando	115	Esse videtur
	Desine nummis		Ista legenti
	Addere nummos;		Formula versus.
	Vel quid iniquis		Sed tamen illa
	Consociaris,		Graiugenarum
100	Munera quorum	120	Inclitya vates

83.vetare-B 89.Lin (rasura) causas-B 91.animosas-B
 93.Farro-Si, Farre pingi-B ; cavallos-Sii,Pii
 95.Acomolando-B 98.Vel)ut-B 101.recepta-B 106.fugitibe-
 B 107.Adque-B 119.Troiugenarum-Si,Sii,Pii

	Nomine Sapho		Tu modo, frater
	Versibus istis		Alme Fidoli,
	Dulce solebat		Nectare, si vis,
	Edere carmen.		Dulcior omni,
125	Si tibi cura	145	Floridiora
	Forte volenti		Doctiloquorum
	Carmina tali		Carmina linquens,
	Condere versu,		Frivola nostra
	Semper ut unus		Suscipe laetus.
130	Ordine certus	150	Sic tibi Christus,
	Dactilus istic		Arbiter orbis,
	Incipiat pes;		Omnipotentis
	Inde sequenti		Unica proles,
	Parte trocheus		Dulcia vitae
135	Proximus illi	155	Gaudia reddat,
	Rite locetur;		Qui sine fine
	Saepe duabus		Nomine patriae
	Claudere longis		Cuncta gubernans
	Ultima versus		Regnat in aevum.
140	Iure licebit.		

121. Saffo-B, Sappo-Pii 127. Carmine-B, Si 128. versus-B
 131. Dactibus-Si 136. lucetur-B 142. Fedoli-Si, Sii, Pii
 143. si vis) nobis-Si, Sii, Pii 144. omnis-B 146. Dactilocorum-B
 148. Fribula-B 150. Sic) si-B 153. prolis-B 156. sine) si-Pii
 157. Numinae-Si, Numine-Sii 159. Regant in aevum (manu rec.)
 -Si

- 160 Haec tibi dictaram morbis oppressus acerbis,
 Corpore quos fragili patior tristisque senecta;
 Nam dum praecipiti labuntur tempora cursu,
 Nunc ad olympiadis ter senae venimus annos.
 Omnia praetereunt, fugit irreparabile tempus;
 165 Vive, vale laetus tristisque memento senectae.

160-165. om. B 160. acervis-S1 161. flagili-S1
 163. senae) sene-S11, P11, senos-S1 163. post 164. coll. P11
 165. senectae) add. finit-S11



PART THREE -- COMMENTARY

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EPISTULA I

Written from Luxeuil to Pope Gregory the Great, probably in the year 600.

Salutation -- Authority of Anatolius, Gennadius, Jerome and Scripture alleged against the Victorian Easter cycle -- Necessity for the Pope to act, even in defiance of the tradition of St Leo.

Judgement sought on simoniacal and married bishops, and on disorderly monks.

Columban's desire to visit Gregory -- His admiration for the Regula Pastoralis -- He requests commentaries on Ezekiel, the Song of Solomon, and Zechariah -- The primacy of Truth.

Page 1, lines 1-2. Romanae ... Decori. The interlaced order of the words is typical of Columban's epistolary style; a more complex example will be found at p.27, lines 14-6.

3. flaccentis The word is chosen primarily for the sake of alliteration with Flori; but the prevalence of heresy, immorality and civil war had led Columban to a highly pessimistic view of his world, which he believed to be rotten, and fast approaching its end, cf. pp.50, 5 and 53, 11 below, and the De Mundi Transitu passim.

4. Speculatori is commonly used in ecclesiastical Latin to denote any bishop; it is possible that in employing the word here,

Columban had in mind the literal meaning of the name Gregory, for he frequently affects such puns on proper names, cf. p.42,14 (his own name), p.50, 15 (Vigilius), p.51, 2 (Bonifatius).

4-5. Theoria ... perito i.e. "skilled in the meditation of sacred literature"; a reference to Gregory's biblical studies. Theoria is regularly used in connection with religious contemplation, cf. Ps.-Beda Hom. in Assumpt. B.V.M. (P.L. 94,421 A), "theoria, id est contemplatio Dei." Castalitas is a new word, which I take to denote the quality of eloquence, or the literature possessing that quality, derived from the inspiration of the Castalian spring at Delphi. It is not listed by the dictionaries but occurs in a gloss of the eighth-century St Gall cod. 912 (C.G.L. IV 214,4: "Castalitati de elogutione"). There is therefore no need for Gundlach's weak emendation, "causalitatis".

5. Bar-iona Jonah is, of course, the Hebrew equivalent of "columba"; Columban was familiar with the fact (cf. p.42,14 and p.68,12) and may have learnt it from such a source as the De Nom. Hebr. of Jerome (P.L. 23,839). "Bar-iona" can mean, not only the son of a dove, but also a member of that species; we do not know the name of Columban's father, and therefore have no warrant for the emendation of vilis to "filius" in line 6. The manuscript reading, "bargma" or "bargoma", suggested to Ducange (s.v. Barginna) that the text here should read "Barginna", a corrupt form of "peregrinus". But this form is never used by Columban,

while the emendation "Bar-iona", easy and plausible in itself, adds point to the words which follow.

8 foll. Libet ... Pascha. I have made the emendation interrogare for "interrogandum" in line 9, as the manuscript text cannot be translated as it stands. The meaning will then be:- "It is my wish, Holy Father (let it not be an excessive liberty in your eyes) to ask about Easter..." The run of the passage indicates that Columban must be advancing a diffident claim to be heard on the Paschal controversy, rather than that he should be admitting at the outset that he has no right to speak; and I therefore cannot accept the much more radical emendation of Gundlach, "Ligat me...hyperbolicus metus ne non sit interrogandum..."

10. Pascha is indeclinable, as usually in Columban; it is declined, however, as a feminine noun at p.14,3 and p.29,4, and as a neuter at p.17,20.

12. micrologo The word refers to trivial statements, cf. Jonas II,10 ("comperendinanti microloga et frivola garrulanti"), then to persons making such statements, and finally to those who are insignificant in themselves, as here (cf. Hymn Apost. 41, in Blume Analecta Hymnica LI p.273: "mortales...micrologi").

13. fertur The source and context of the story have been lost; it appears to concern a philosopher who, on seeing a painted woman remarked that, while despising the art, he admired the front -- a play on the two meanings of "frons", as "forehead" and "effrontery".

14. comptu pictam i.e. "painted with cosmetics". The spelling "comtu" must have been the source of the manuscript corruption; I am indebted to Père Grosjean S.J. for the suggestion "acu pictam", but do not feel that it is required.

17. fiducia fretus Another (of. line 3 above) example of the alliteration to which Columban was peculiarly addicted.

Page 2, line 3,4 Pascha...lunae i.e. the celebration of Easter on the twenty-first or twenty-second day of the lunar month, as was permitted by the cycles used on the Continent after 343 A.D. The Irish adhered rigidly to the older lunar terms of 14-20.

5. tenebrosum Because after the twentieth day of the lunation, the moon only rises in the second part of the night, which is therefore ruled by darkness.

6. chalcenteris i.e. "painstaking scholars". Χαλκέντερος was the nickname of Didymus of Alexandria and of Origen, in allusion to their laborious studies. Ducange suggests "calculatoribus" and "computariis"; "calendariis" is another possibility; but it is probable that the rarer word underlies the manuscript corruption.

7. Anatolius became Bishop of Syrian Laodicea in 269 A.D.

8. Hieronymus De Viris Illustribus cap.73 (P.L.23,683):-

"Anatolius Alexandrinus, Laodiceae Syriae episcopus, suo Probo et Caro imperatoribus floruit; mirae doctrinae vir fuit in arithmetica, geometria, astronomia, grammatica, rhetorica, dialectica.

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Cuius ingenii magnitudinem de volumine quod super Pascha composuit, et decem libris de arithmeticae institutionibus, intelligere possumus."

9. Eusebius Caesariensis Hist. Eccl. VII 32 (P.G.20,728-9);

a short quotation from the genuine writings of Anatolius, directed against Quartodecimanism, and entitled 'Εκ τῶν περὶ τοῦ πάσχα Ἀνατολίου κανόνων.

13. Gallicanos primarios i.e. the leaders of the Church in Gaul.

14. foll. Certe.... This quotation is taken, in good faith, from what was actually an Irish forgery of the year 556, and not the genuine work of Anatolius; cf. B. Krusch, Der 84-jährige Oestercyclus pp.319-20, Neues Archiv IX p.145.

Page 3, line 5 possibile sc. "esse".

11. libro Gennadius, De Dogmatibus Ecclesiasticis cap.87 (P.L.58,1000); in the text of Columban, later scribes have wrongly altered decimae quartae into "decimae sextae".

15. aequinoctium Christ suffered at the Paschal full moon, which the Jews invariably observed after the vernal equinox; to celebrate Easter prior to the equinox would therefore be to commemorate the Resurrection before the Passion (cf. lines 19-20 and p.18,14 below)-- an impropriety which was in fact never committed, but of which Columban imagined his opponents to be

guilty. This confusion was caused by the fact that the date of the equinox was itself part of the dispute; for while the Irish maintained the old Roman date of March 25th, the Continental Churches had been led to adopt the Athanasian date of March 21st; hence these Churches might sometimes celebrate Easter after the equinox according to their own reckoning, but before it according to that of the Irish.

16. Victorius of Aquitaine composed a cycle of 532 years, which was generally adopted in the Western Church, except for Ireland, in 457 A.D. This cycle was still used in France at the time of Columban; Rome, in 525 A.D., had changed to the nineteen-year cycle of Dionysius Exiguus. Both of these cycles employed March 21st as the equinoctial date.

18. utraque -- (a) to celebrate Easter prior to the Passion (see on line 15 above, and cf. page 18, 13-4); and (b) to extend the seven days (from the fourteenth to the twentieth) sanctioned in the Book of Exodus, so as to include the twenty-first or twenty-second day of the lunar month.

Page 4, line 2 Phase cf. Jerome's statement, "Pascha...Hebraice dicitur Phase" (P.L. 26,190). The seven days were appointed for the eating, not of the passover proper, but of unleavened bread.

5. transcendantur The later cycles employed 15-21 or 16-22 as the lunar terms within which the celebration of Easter had to fall; they postponed the earliest permissible date, in order to preserv

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the traditional interval between the Passion and the Resurrection, but they continued to maintain seven days as the limiting period, adding one or two days to its lower end.

7. tunc temporis i.e. "at that point of time", a phrase common in ecclesiastical Latin.

12. flumina refers to the writings of Gregory, from the circulation of which his scholarship enjoyed a wide reputation. For the metaphor, cf. the office-hymn of Finnian (quoted Hyde, Literary History of Ireland, p.197): "Trium virorum millium Sorte fit doctor humilis; Verbi his fudit fluvium Ut fons emanans rivulis."

13. schynthinium I take this word, not elsewhere found, to be an adjective formed from "schynthia", and meaning "full of warts". In C.G.L. IV 568,5 appears the entry "schynthiae, neumacula", the gloss being most probably a corruption of "naevum, macula". This gives an excellent meaning for the present passage; the French error forms a "wart" which should be "scraped away" (rasum). A very similar phrase occurs in Ep.V (p.67,5), where the Pope is urged "ut cito tollatis hunc naevum de sanctae cathedrae claritate", and the confirmation of this parallel passage makes it unnecessary to change the manuscript reading here. Emendations range from "schoinotenes" (Ducange) to "scismaticum" (Gundlach).

18. Hermagoricae Hermagoras of Temnos (floruit circa 150 B.C.) was a teacher of rhetoric, whose theories, considered remarkable

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for their novelty, sometimes earn a mention in the works of Cicero (e.g. De Invent. I,6).

19. Leonis St Leo, Pope 440-61.

Page 5, line 2. canis vivus Jerome appeals to the same text in his treatise Adv. Vigilantium (P.L.23,344C).

6. philosophis. It is unlikely that this refers to the Filid, as Columba is the only example of a Christian fili known in the sixth century, and a predominantly pagan class would scarcely have been concerned with the Easter calculations.

9. sciolo The word is very rare, except in a derogatory sense; but cf. Aldhelm, Ep. ad Heddam (M.G.H. Epp. III p.236, line 28) "qui mihi prius videbar sciolus, rursus coepi esse discipulus".

11. punctum i.e. a favourable vote, cf. Hor. Art. Poet. 343, "Omne tulit punctum qui miscuit utile dulci".

15. Cum Iudaeis If the fourteenth of the lunar month happened to fall on a Sunday, the Irish celebrated Easter on that day; this seemed a Judaizing practice to the French, who in such circumstances, to avoid celebrating the exact day of the Jewish Passover, postponed their Easter by a week. Columban's opponents charged him with "Quartodeciman" heresy; but the Quartodecimans, properly so called, were those who invariably observed Easter on the fourteenth day of the moon, whatever day of the week this might chance to be, and it was they who were the real Judaizers. According to the Victorian cycle, which the French Church employed at this time, the Irish Easter fell on the fourteenth day of the lunar month in 600, 603, 607 and 610; and it was in consequence of the opposition aroused in the first of these years that Columban wrote the present letter of appeal to Pope Gregory.

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16. Victor Pope circa 189-99. See Euseb. Hist. Eccl. V,22 (P.G.20,490).

18. soporans spina Dagonis i.e. "soporific sting of Dagon"; the phrase is apparently intended to describe the cry of the French bishops. Dagon, the fish-god of the Philistines, is an appropriate image for opposition to Judaism, and the metaphor seems to be drawn from those fishes which capture their prey by stinging it to death. Bubum, here used in place of the more usual form "bubo", means "tumor" (Βουβών); other meanings are "screech-owl" (Varro, Ling. 5,75) and "sloth" (Gloss. Plac. C.G.L. V 8,19)

Page 6, line 9. transcensum i.e. the Exodus, a type of the deliverance wrought by Christ for mankind. Epistle VI (p.77, line 8 foll.) finds the mystical significance of the number 14 in the conjunction of the Ten Commandments with the fourfold perfection of the Gospel.

15. novem dies The argument is that, if God had intended the Christian Easter to be celebrated on the twenty-first or twenty-second, in place of the fourteenth or fifteenth, He should have prescribed nine, and not seven, days for the feast of the Unleavened Bread.

Page 7, line 2 foll. For the principle of "sola scriptura", cf. p.47, 16-7 below: "nihil extra evangelicam et apostolicam doctrinam recipientes"; also p.8,16 et alia.

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8. euripum i.e. flood-tide; from the rapid currents flowing through the narrow channel between Boeotia and Euboea. The word occurs again at p.61,4 below.

10. foll. Nec loci... The same attitude of reverent humility towards the Holy See appears in the letter of Cumman to Segienus (in Ussher, Works IV p.442): "deinde visum est senioribus nostri iuxta mandatum...ut si causae fuerint maiores iuxta decretum synodicum ad caput urbium sint referendae; misimus quos novimus sapientes et humiles esse, velut natos ad matrem." Cumman seems to refer to an ancient Irish canon, which is alleged with great probability to be Patrician in origin (Canones Hibernenses 20,5b cf. Wasserschleben, Kanonensammlung p.73): "Si quae (difficiles) questiones in hac insula oriantur, ad sedem apostolicam referantur." This enjoins an appeal to the Pope for final judgement; but Columban does not regard himself as qualified to enter on argument or advice ("quasi discutiendo"), although in fact he is driven to engage in both, here and in Epistle V.

13-4. occidentales apices At first sight this seems to be a case of abstract for concrete terms (like "efficacia tua" at p.2,7 above), and to mean in effect "a native of the extreme West". But "apices", besides "extremities", can also have the meaning "letters", cf. Aldhelm, Epist. ad Geruntium (M.G.H. Epp. III p.231, lines 17-8): "epistulares litterarum apices". This is certainly the sense at p.27,16 below, and the word should probably be so translated here.

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17. trahere colloquium There are no exact parallels to this phrase in the Thesaurus Linguae Latinae; it is apparently meant to have the meaning of "prolonging" an interview or disputation.

19. chilosum i.e. "wordy", literally "full of lip". This new word is presumably derived from the Greek Χεῖλος; but "chilones", which Ducange quotes from an old gloss "ex cod. reg. 7613", is given the meaning "homines brevioribus labiis", and it is therefore possible that the present phrase should be translated "my insignificant mouth".

Page 8, lines 1-2. fidei futurum fore Here again Columban shows his rather tiresome love of alliteration.

6. duorum i.e. Jerome and Victorius.

15. quicumque ille fuerit i.e. even the Pope may fall under the suspicion of heresy (cf. p.65, 12).

16-17. indubitata...fidem See note on p.7,2 foll. above for other examples of the teaching that Scripture is the sole authoritative source of doctrine.

19. quaestu In his correspondence, Gregory frequently asks Queen Brunhilda to assist him in the suppression of simony, which was then rife amongst the clergy of France, cf. Gregory, Epist. XI 46 (M.G.H. Epp. II p.319) "Nam causa sunt ruinae populi sacerdotes mali". The close control exercised by the Merovingian over the French Church prevented the Pope from taking direct action. Columban introduces the subject here, as a counter-charge to the accusations which the French bishops had brought

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against himself; he knew that the source of their animosity lay in the contrast between the purity of his own life and the immorality of theirs, and it appeared easy to discredit opponents whose conduct had already scandalized the Pope.

20. Gildas De Excidio Britanniae III,2 (P.L. 69,369 A): "Quid enim tam impium tamque scelestum est, quam ad similitudinem Simonis Magi, non intervenientibus licet interea promiscuis criminibus, episcopatus officium presbyterii terreno pretio, quod sanctitate rectisque moribus decentius acquiritur, quempiam velle mercari?"

20. scripsit eos The metaphor is taken from the enrolling of names in a register or testamentary document, cf. II Macc.4,9 "...eos qui in Ierosolymis erant, Antiochenos scribere", and Cic. pro Mil. 18 "et illum heredem et me scripserat."

Page 9, line 5. novimus conscientias These clerics must have been amongst the crowds who flocked to Columban "ad penitentiae medicamenta" (Jonas I,10).

10. clientelis i.e. wives married prior to ordination; the term is peculiar to Irish Latinity. It was regarded as adultery for a cleric, previously married, to continue to cohabit with his wife after he had been ordained; cf. Penitential B 8 (p.213,5 foll. below), a section borrowed by Columban from the Penitential of Finnian. The sixth-century French Councils took a similar line, cf. Tours (567) canons 12 and 19, Macon I (583) canon 11, and

Auxerre (? 586) canon 21 (all in Hefele-Leclercq, Conciles III 1 pp.187,189, 204 and 219). Here again, Columban was able to meet his opponents with a serious counter-accusation.

14. monachis Penitential A 3 (p.208, 17 below) places monastic deserters in the same category with fornicators and homicides. It is not clear why Columban should have raised the subject here, but it is possible that he had received complaints from the abbots of other French monasteries, whose monks were being drawn away from them by the fame of Luxeuil; Attala, one of his favourite disciples, had actually left Lerins to join Columban (Jonas II,1). Further he may have feared some defection amongst his own monks, owing to his support of the unpopular Irish Easter.

16. conversionis i.e. profession as a monk.

18. ad deserta The growth of eremiticism in the Irish Church towards the close of the sixth century is noted in the Catalogue of the Saints of Ireland (Haddan and Stubbs, Councils &c. II p.293), "Tertius ordo sanctorum...qui in locis desertis habitabant..." Adamnan mentions several saintly hermits (Vit. Col. I,49; III,23); but there do not seem to have been many at the time in France.

18. Vennianus This is almost certainly Finnian of Clonard, the author of an important Penitential, who is described by tradition as a pupil of Gildas, cf. Lives of the Saints from the Book of Lismore, ed. Stokes, pp.222-3.

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20. rescripsit perhaps the letter in Haddan and Stubbs, Councils &c. I p.110: "De monachis qui veniunt de loco villore ad perfectiorem, quorum abbas ita degeneravit ab opere Dei ut mereatur ad mensam sanctorum non recipi... suscipite sine ullo scripulo monachus (sic) tales ad vos de flamma inferni confugientes, nequaquam eorum consulto abbate. Illos vero, quorum abbatem de mensa sanctorum propter infamiam non arcemus, non debemus illo nolente suscipere".

20. discendi i.e. study at a new monastic school.

Page 10, line 1. metus i.e. fear of introducing disorder.

4. corporis infirmitas Jonas states that on his first settlement in the Vosges, Columban took so little food "ut vix vivere crederes" (I,9).

4,5. meorum cura cf. p.31,7 below, "Studii mei magnitudinem erga salutis vestrae intuitum solus novit qui dedit".

9. foll. For Columban's love of the Roman Church, see Epist. V, especially p.61,6 foll. below.

9,10. sui rem...contemptus i.e. "an actual contempt of herself", cf. p.40,10 "officii rem legitimi".

10,11. narrante Hieronymo in Epist. LIII (P.L.22,541): "Ad T. Livium lacteo eloquentiae fonte manantem de ultimis Hispaniae (a Gadibus) Galliarumque finibus quosdam venisse nobiles legimus, et quos ad contemplationem sui Roma non traxerat, unius hominis fama perduxit".

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11. Hyelini The manuscript corruption seems to conceal some Spanish place-name; "Hyelē" (Velia) in Tarraconensis involves no more than the interchange of two letters, and I take Hyelini to be an adjective formed from this. Sheerin (ad loc.) suggests "Herculei", which he thinks may refer to the Gulf of Cadiz.

14,5. sanctorum reverentia cinerum cf. p.70,13 below; the Irish Columban venerates the ecclesiastical, but not the civil, history of Rome.

18. pastorale regimen The book was published soon after Gregory's accession in the year 590. He sent a copy of it to "the priest Columbus", which probably means Columban, in the year 594 (Epist. V 17, M.G.H. Epp. I p.299).

Page 11, line 2. in Ezechielem Gregory's lectures on Ezekiel were preached in the autumn of 593, but not published until 601; hence at the time of writing, Columban would have had no opportunity of reading them, though he could have known of their existence.

3,4. Hieronimi sex...libros Jerome's entire commentary, covering the whole of Ezekiel, runs to fourteen books; Columban's copy must have been defective.

5. relectis i.e. "delivered", referring especially to lecture-sermons.

7. Cantica canticorum This commentary was perhaps composed before Gregory's accession to the Papacy.

17. cartae asperitas i.e. the disagreeable language of Columban's letter, and perhaps also the poor Latinity in which he fears that it is written; he apologizes for his style also in the poem to Sethus (line 3), saying that his verses "ornatu careant sermonis honesti".

17,8. ira...furit cf. Hor. Epist. I, 2,62 "Ira furor brevis est".

Page 12, line 7. Persuperfluum This word is not listed in any of the dictionaries.

10. Candido Candidus was appointed rector of the Pope's French patrimony in 595; his office carried no ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and he could therefore do no more than advise Columban on what Gregory's probable response would be.

11. temporis antiquitate The use of the antiquated cycle, which the Irish still employed, was discontinued at Rome in 343.

EPISTULA II

Written from Luxeuil to the Synod of Chalon in the year 603.

Salutation -- The value to the Church of frequent synods -- True Christian discipleship shown in humility and poverty -- The dangers of schism -- Request for toleration of the Irish Easter; its validity asserted from Scripture and antiquity -- The Church's unity in her Divine Head.

Page 13, line 3. Columba Throughout the Epistles, Columban uses this, the shorter form of his name; "Columbanus" occurs in the acrostic poem to Hunaldus, and both forms appear in Jonas (1,2 etc.).

5. mei causa This is incorrect, for the principal business of the Synod of Chalon was the deposition of Desiderius of Vienne; Columban's opponents had hoped to use it as an occasion for bringing him to trial, but he was protected by the favour of the court.

6-7. de fidei et bonorum operum veritate For Columban, faith and practice were inseparably linked together, and the only true Christianity was that which showed itself in the discipline of monastic life; "haec est enim veritas evangelii, ut veri Christi crucifixi discipuli eum sequantur cum cruce" (Ep. IV p.37, 8-10 below). Here, he hits at the outset on the underlying cause of the dispute; deeper than any question of

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the method of calculating Easter, it lay simply in the fact that his own purity showed up the immoral lives of the French clergy. It is very possible that semi-Pelagianism formed one of the charges made against Columban; the French Church had finally repudiated that heresy at the Synod of Orange in 530, but as late as 640, John IV found it necessary to warn the Irish against it (Bede Hist. Eccl. II 19); and if so, Columban, by his insistence on "the verity of good works," is here outlining an answer to the charge.

8. discretionem boni ac mali cf. Reg. Mon. VIII (p.173; 2 foll.)

"Discretio igitur discernendo nomen accepit eo quod ipsa in nobis discernit inter bona et mala."

9 foll. Utinam saepius... The tone of somewhat censorious exhortation must be read against the background of the low moral level of the French bishops, especially their simony (see on p.8,19 above); but it cannot have commended the writer to a synod of diocesans, whose authority he had already flouted both by his independent foundations and by his exercise of penitential discipline.

10. iuxta canones Nicaea can. 5 (Hefele-Leclercq I 1 548)

καλῶς ἔχειν ἔδοξεν ἑκάστου ἐνιαυτοῦ καθ' ἑκάστην ἐπαρχίαν
δὲς τοῦ ἔτους συνόδους γένεσθαι.

These provisions are repeated in the decrees of the French Synods, e.g. Tours (567) can. I (Hefele-Leclercq III 1 185), which prescribes one, or if possible two, provincial synods in each year.

11. dissensionibus The civil wars which had raged, with intervals, since 573, when Sigebert and Chilperic fell out over the latter's treatment of Sigebert's sister-in-law, Galswintha (Intro. chapter II, section 2).

12. servare vos non vacat In every other example known to me, the personal pronoun is put in the dative, and not the accusative, case.

12. vel The main clause begins here.

12-3. quamvis rarius sc. "servare vacet".

Page 14, line 3. mandatorum i.e. the precepts of the Gospel; cf. "evangelica mandata" in line 11 below.

4. diu...diversis Columban gives a brief (and biased) account of the Paschal controversy in Ep.I, paras. 3-5.

7. corruptae sunt cf. Ep. I (p,8,18 foll.) "de episcopis... qui contra canones ordinantur, id est quaestu..."

8. nunc...quam tunc i.e. "now than before"; the Day of Judgment approaches every moment. There is a vague reference here to Rom. 13,11.

17-8. septemque...iungens i.e. "joining seven Beatitudes to the first (which refers to) poverty of spirit." The eighth Beatitude forms a sort of octave (cf. 19) to the first.

19. circumcisionem The rite of circumcision, administered on the eighth day after birth (Gen. 17,12), is a type of the

purification of martyrdom, to which the eighth Beatitude refers, cf. Hieron, in Matt. 5,10 (P.L. 26, 35 A) "Simulque considera, quod octava verae circumcisionis beatitudo martyrio terminetur."

20. martyrio Besides the "red martyrdom" of actual death, the Irish also recognized the "white martyrdom" of external renunciation, and the "green martyrdom" of internal mortification; see note on p.179,2 below.

Page 15, line 7. persecutione The suggestion is undoubtedly intended that the writer, from the very fact of his being persecuted, may be nearer to Christ than his persecutors.

15-6. qui non renuntiaverint The majority of the French prelates led a secular and luxurious life; some account of their worldliness will be found in the latter part of Intro. chapter II section 2.

17. complevit i.e. by renunciation and the performance of good works.

18. sustinuit i.e. by enduring persecution for righteousness' sake.

Page 16, line 10. actualis i.e. "practical", reinforced by personal example; cf. "actualibus studiis" (p.25,12 below).

20 foll. unum...scribere The metaphor is probably derived from the recording of votes.

Page 17, line 4. de terra vitiorum The body, or perhaps rather human life in general, is regarded as a territory occupied by the vices; the phrase is governed by "depositis...detrusis" in line 6, and the meaning is therefore that the roots of sin must be expelled from the land in which it has taken up residence.

12. varietas traditionum The Irish observances differed from those of France, not only on the Easter calculations, but also in the administration of penance (being private as opposed to public) and in the celebration of the Divine Office (contrast the provisions of Columban's Reg. Mon. cap. VII with those of Caesarius of Arles Reg. SS. Virginum sect. 66 ed. Morin II p.120 etc.).

12. venena is governed by "curare" (16).

Page 18, line 9. traditio -- vestra i.e. the cycle of Victorius of Aquitaine; cf. canon I of the fourth council of Orleans (541) "Placuit itaque, Deo propitio, ut sanctum Pascha secundum laterculum Victorii ab omnibus sacerdotibus uno tempore celebretur" (Hefele-Leclercq II ii 1165). While the Irish had continued to observe their antiquated cycle of 84 years, the Roman Church at this time employed yet a third cycle, that of Dionysius Exiguus.

10,11. totius occidentis i.e. the Celtic Churches of Ireland, Wales, and Brittany.

11. tomo responsionis This probably refers to Epistle I, written in 600, and containing the substance of Columban's answer to his accusers; the French bishops had not seen it previously, as it was addressed to Pope Gregory. In the years 600 and 603, the Irish Easter fell on the fourteenth of the lunar month, according to the Victorian cycle, but the eighteenth, according to the cycle of the Irish.

13. respiciunt fieri debere This construction, with the accusative and infinitive, is very rare; cf. Plaut. Cure. 1,2,155 "Respicio nili meam vos gratiam facere."

14. resurrectionem ante passionem see on p.3,15.

19. tres tomos One of these may be Epistle I; the others, together with the brevi libello of line 20, have not survived.

20. Arigio This Arigius, who succeeded to the see of Lyons in 603, is not to be confused with his namesake the Bishop of Vap; at the synod of Chalon, he took a leading part in the condemnation of Desiderius of Vienne (Fredegarius 24, P.L. 71,618, where he is called "Aridius").

Page 19, line 1. Unum itaque deposco etc. Here begins the departure from that intransigent position, adopted by Columban in Epistle I, which was to culminate in his acceptance of the Roman

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cycle after his arrival in Italy. Though fighting stubbornly for what he conceived to be the truth, he always remained loyal to the principle of Church unity.

5. vilitas sc. "mea".

13. decem et septem It is almost useless to attempt an estimate from this of the number of Columban's monks, for we know neither the average age nor the incidence of disease amongst them. Jonas mentions 60 at Fontaines alone (I,17) and 220 is given as the total by the Vita Valerici (M.G.H. Script. Rerum Merov. IV p.162).

15. duodecim annis This passage provides one of the principal arguments for dating Columban's arrival in France to the year 590-1; see Intro. chapter II sect. I.

18. meriti is here a noun in the genitive case; cf. Instr. XII (p.153,8-9) "Utinam talis essem meriti."

Page 20, line 4 foll. Hi sunt enim etc. It is wrong to dismiss this glowing rhetoric as a mere piece of sectarian nationalism; Columban supported the Irish Easter so passionately, simply because he believed that it, unlike his opponents', was genuinely Catholic.

7. de patria The ideal of pilgrimage was inspired by such passages as Luke 14,26-33, and Gen. 12,1 ("Exi de terra tua...")

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Page 21, line 1 foll. Anatolium etc. cf. p.2, 6 foll. above.

4. nuper Victorius wrote in 457.

7. Martini St Martin was particularly venerated in the Celtic Church, and Columban's visit to his tomb is recorded as the occasion of a miracle (Jonas I,22).

8. Damasi Damasus became Pope in 366. He reopened the catacombs, and had his inscriptions chiselled by Furius Dionysius Filocalus, the artist of a remarkable illustrated Calendar, called the "Chronograph of 354". He was much respected by Jerome, probably on account of his support for the growth of monastic practices at Rome.

8. per centum et tres annos Victorius published a breviary of 430 past and 102 future years; adding 1 for the year of composition, this gives a total of 103. The emendation of "post" to per is suggested by B. McCarthy, Annals of Ulster IV, 1901, p.cxxx note 3, who refers to the words "per annos centum et duos futuros" in the Prologue (cf. line 6 above) of Victorius. If the manuscript reading "post" be retained, it can only allude to the fact that Victorius wrote in 457, 103 years after the "Chronograph of 354"; but it is highly unlikely that Columban would use the date of such a publication as a means for fixing the exact year in which Victorius wrote.

13. congruendum sc. "esse"; "contendere" is common in all periods with the meaning "affirm earnestly".

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14. iudaei There seem to have been numerous Jewish merchants at the time in France; Gregory of Tours mentions their presence at a festival in Orleans in 585 (Hist. Franc. VIII,1). It was this fact which made the charge of Judaizing in their Easter observances (cf. p.5,15 above) so obnoxious to the Irish.

Page 22, line 1. concordant Columban has already (p.7,2 and 8,16) insisted on Scripture as the ultimate test of doctrine.

3,4. de trans More usually this is written as a single word.

13-4. calce dicti cf. Hieron. Epist. 47,3 "in calce voluminis"; the metaphor seems to be taken from the chalk finishing-line of a race course.

Page 23, lines 11-2. mundi facultates i.e. "worldly opportunities".

13. nostri Either Columban's own monks, or more probably, the members of the Irish Church, which under the influence of its great abbots, had become almost exclusively monastic.

17. quattuor res i.e. humility, chastity, honesty and gentleness.

18. Hieronymus Columban seems to quote loosely and from memory; the passages which he had in mind were probably the following -- in Esaiam 8,18 (P.L. 24, 121 D) "Unde et ad apostolos salvator aiebat: Nisi conversi fueritis quasi unus de pueris, non intrabitis in regnum coelorum. Puer autem

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efficitur novi evangelii praedicator, qui deponit veterem hominem, qui corrumpitur in desiderii seductionis, et induitur novo, qui renovatur in cognitionem iuxta imaginem creatoris"; in Matt. 18,3 (P.L. 26,128 C) "Non praecipitur apostolis ut aetatem habeant parvulorum, sed ut innocentiam...ut malitia, non sapientia, parvuli sint."

19. Basilius trans. Rufinus, Interrog. 161 (P.L. 103, 542 B) "Quomodo converti quis potest et fieri sicut infans? Resp. Ipsa lectio Evangelii docet nos omnem causam; in qua hoc ostenditur uti ne arrogantiam requiramus vel elationem, sed aequalitatem naturae cognoscamus, et exaequemus nos eis qui videntur inferiores. Hoc enim est proprie infantium, aequales esse his quibus non nobilitate sed aetate iunguntur, donec processu temporis et monitorum nequitia elationis inficiantur venenis"; cf. Interrog. 163 (P.L. 103, 542 D) "Quomodo debemus suscipere regnum Dei sicut infans? Resp. Si tales fuerimus ad doctrinam Domini, qualis est infans in discendo; qui neque contradicit doctoribus, neque rationes et verba componit, adversus eos resistens, sed fideliter suscipit quod docetur, et cum metu obtemperat et acquiescit."

Page 24, line 7. austeriore adhuc vita A reference is perhaps intended here to the life of Gregory the Great, who performed the duties of the Supreme Pontiff, while retaining the habits

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of a monk; thus he had a harder battle (line 8) and at the same time a more glorious reward.

8-9. pugna...corona Columban regularly views human life as a battle-field; cf. Epist. IV (p.40,20) "si tollis pugnam, tollis et coronam."

10. creduntur i.e. "are credited with"; the emendation is required in order to give the sense intended in the quotation from Gregory.

10. Gregorius Reg. Past. III, 35 (P.L. 77, 120 B) "At contra admonendi sunt qui bona occulte faciunt, et tamen quibusdam factis publice de se mala opinari permittunt."

12. Hieronymus Epist. 58,5 (P.L. 22,583) "Episcopi et presbyteri habeant in exemplum apostolos et apostolicos viros... nos autem habeamus propositi nostri principes" (i.e. the leaders and founders of the monastic life).

16. quod arripuit servet There is perhaps here, as Gundlach thinks, an echo of Horat. Art. Poet. 475 "Quem vero arripuit, tenet."

Page 25, lines 12-3. actualibus studiis i.e. "practical pursuits"; cf. Cassian Conl. I,1 (P.L. 49, 482 C) "non solum actuali verum etiam theorica virtute flagrabat."

Page 26, line 8. quaeque i.e. quaelibet.

9. cognitione properly denotes objective perception; agnitione, subjective recognition.

14-5. Date...veniam meae loquacitati cf. ad Hunald. 16 "Da veniam dictis, fuimus fortasse loquaces."

EPISTULA III

Written from Luxeuil, either to Pope Sabinian in 604, or, less probably, to Pope Boniface III in 607.

Salutation -- Columban laments his inability to visit Rome in person -- He transmits copies of his previous correspondence with Pope Gregory -- And requests leave to continue in the observance of his country's customs, together with the Pope's prayers and favour.

Page 27, line 2. N. Papae Owing to a vacancy in the Papacy, which occurred both in 604 and in 607, Columban did not know the name of the Pope whom he addressed; see Intro. chapter III section 2.

4. Iam diu In Epist. I (p.10,2 foll.) Columban had already expressed his desire to visit Rome; here, he is careful to preface his new request for protection with a profession of his loyalty to the Roman Church.

7. spiritu to be taken with cupiens.

7. nunc usque "up till now"; a post-classical phrase.

8. votis to be taken with "satisfacere" (line 10).

9. gentium seditionibus This probably refers to the attacks of Slavs and Lombards in 603 (Paulus, Historia Langobardorum IV, 29 -- P.L. 95,563).

10. marina trabe Columban is fond of naval metaphors (cf. p.47, 2 foll.); here, he pictures himself as shut up in a ship, while the sea of war and heresy rages round him.

12. maris...dorso cf. Verg. Aen. I,110 "Dorsum immane mari summo"; this suggests that "maris" is the correct reading here, though the alternative "thetis", usually in the form "tithis", is very common in Irish literature.

12. intelligibilis This is most probably a reference to the Arianism of the Lombards; for the metaphor, compare Instr. I (p.91,15-6) "divinae cognitionis pelagus."

13-4. semel et bis cf. Epist. II (p.18,18-9) "sancto papae per tres tomos innotui"; of this correspondence, only Epistle I has survived.

14-6. portitores...positorum A good example of the interlaced word-order characteristic of Columban's epistolary style; simpler cases occur in lines 5 and 9 above. Translate, "the bearers of our letters annexed to this, which were once written to Pope Gregory of blessed memory". apicum from denoting the long mark over a vowel, comes to mean letters of the alphabet, and so, per synecdochen, writing in general. Although he did not answer Columban's numerous appeals, and may never have received them, Gregory was cognizant of the Irish saint, and, besides sending him a copy of the Regula Pastoralis (see note on p.10,18 above), it is probable that he also commended him

to the protection of Conon, Abbot of Lérins (Gregory, Epist. XI, 9, M.G.H. Epist. II p.269); in both these cases, I take Gregory's "Columbus" to refer to Columban. The ancient Life of the Abbess Salaberga (AA. SS. Sept. VI p.521) says Gregory "ad praefatum patrem (sc. Columbanum) melliflua remisisse scripta"; this, if it has any foundation in fact, may mean no more than that the Pope sent copies of the Commentaries which Columban had requested in Ep. I.

20. observantiaeque The manuscript reading is "observantia quae calcarent (non carent -M)"; it is impossible to make sense of this, and I take "calcarent" to be a gloss on "terminos scandunt" (p.28,2) which has wrongly crept into the text. With the omission of this word, and the emendation "observantiaeque", the passage may be translated "in necessary proof of the true computation of our country's rite and observance."

Page 28, line 2. terminos scandunt An extension of the use of "versus scandere" (i.e. scan), to mean "measure".

2. libri Especially the pseudo-Anatolian Canon Paschale.

3. provinciae Columban here uses the word in its ecclesiastical and not political, sense; at p.30,7 below he founds his claim for tolerance of native customs on the fact that the Celtic Churches, "in barbaris gentibus constitutas", had never been subject to the Roman Empire.

3. liber Gallorum i.e. the Laterculum Victorii.
4. duo loca magistri These are probably the passages quoted in Epist. I (pp.2,14 foll. and 3,12 foll.) from pseudo-Anatolius and Gennadius.
10. reserare i.e. "open, expound"; the manuscript reading, "probare...reservare", is harsh if not impossible, and I have therefore chosen to emend.
17. unum Deum etc. cf. Instr. I (p.88,10-1) "unitatem in Trinitate et Trinitatem in unitate."

Page 29, lines 2-3. si non contra fidem est This apparent submission to the Pope's judgement on a doctrinal issue, so much at variance with the main argument of Epist. V, is in reality of little moment, because the Easter controversy was obviously not one in which the substance of the Faith was involved.

6-7. in nostra esse patria Columban's continued assumption that his monasteries, like those of his native land, remained outside the jurisdiction of the local Episcopate, was a principal cause of the opposition of the French bishops; but it was big with promise of later direct papal control, beginning with the exemption granted by Honorius to Bobbio in 628 (P.L. 80,483-4). In lines 11-2 below, he calls the French hierarchy "nostros in Christo patres", but the title is merely one of courtesy.

13. epistulas i.e. Epist. I and II.

14. tumultuantibus The passions of the Synod of Chalon were worked up to the condemnation of Desiderius of Vienne (Fredegar. 24).

18. Polycarpus Near the end of his life, Polycarp visited Rome in order to persuade Anicetus, then Pope, to tolerate the celebration of Easter on the fourteenth of the lunar month; though unable to agree, they did not break off communion with each other (cf. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. V,24, P.G. 20,508 A).

Page 30, line 4. sanctorum cineres For Columban's veneration for the graves of the Apostles Peter and Paul, compare pp.10,14-5 and 60,19 and 70,13. Relics were valued in the Celtic Church, as is shown by many passages (e.g. Adamnan Vit. Col. II,45).

5-6. Constantinopolitanae synodi canon 2 (Hefele-Leclercq II 1 p.22) τὰς δὲ ἐν τοῖς βαρβαρικοῖς ἔθνεσι τοῦ Θεοῦ Ἐκκλησίας διοικονομεῖσθαι, χρὴ κατὰ τὴν κρατήσασαν συνήθειαν κατὰ τῶν πατέρων.

7. in barbaris gentibus It is incredible that some writers have taken these words as referring to the French nations; p.29,6-7 above makes it perfectly clear that Columban regarded Ireland as the "barbarian" country for which special concessions might be claimed.

EPISTULA IV

Written from Nantes to his disciples remaining at Luxeuil in the year 610.

Salutation -- Columban's affectionate solicitude for his monks -- He urges them to remain at one, in obedience to Attala or Waldelenus -- Instructions to Attala on the observation of the Rule -- Difficulties of a projected missionary journey -- The inevitability of tribulation, and its utility to the Christian, provided it be accepted with humility -- A message that the ship is now ready for his departure compels the writer to conclude -- Further exhortations to unity.

- Page 31, line 1. Filiis discentibusque These words appear to distinguish between the two classes of Columban's disciples, (1) professed monks and (2) novices and boys attending school.
2. Fratribus frugalibus Columban is particularly addicted to the alliterative effect of words beginning with the letter "f", cf. p.1,3 above. For his monks' frugality in food and drink, see Reg. Mon. cap. III (pp.164-5 below).
4. Pax vobis is his opening wish, made particularly desirable by the fact that there had been some division in the community over the observance of the Irish Easter, which the French monks had probably been unwilling to accept (cf. p.33,8-9 below).
6. cum eo sc. Domino (line 4).

9. doctrinae vestrae i.e. especially the ascetic teaching contained in the Regula Monachorum; there is no evidence of theological aberration at Luxeuil.

18. temporales in the Biblical sense of "short-lived", referring to an enthusiasm quickly kindled and as quickly quenched.

Page 32, line 1. caduca to be taken in the legal sense of a childless testator's property; the Jews and their later successors (p.23,1 foll.), being no children of the Kingdom, have forfeited their spiritual inheritance, which is therefore open to competition; in Hunald. 5 and Seth. 15 and 62, the word means "transitory".

7-8. iaculatis...sagittis There is no exact parallel in the dictionaries to the phrase orationum sagittis, but it obviously refers to the brief ejaculations known as "preces iaculatae" or "iaculatoriae", and in view of this I have emended the manuscript reading "iugulatis".

17. unum velle et unum nolle The phrase is used by Jonas (I,5) to describe Columban's followers; it is perhaps modelled on Sallust Cat. 20,4 "idem velle atque idem nolle."

17-8. Habetis...habitetis A verbal jingle at the close of parallel clauses is one of Columban's favourite rhetorical devices (cf. p.118,4-5 below). habetis sc. "animo".

18. mando ego vobis For an Irish abbot's nomination of his successor, cf. Adamnan Vit. Col. I,2.
19. sensum i.e. "attitude" or "purpose".
20. sequace The use of this word as a noun belongs to later Latin.

Page 33, lines 1-2. aut sit ibi aut post me velit venire Jonas (I,20) quotes a similar sentiment from Columban's parting words when going into exile: "Quicumque enim se sequi velint, promptissimo animo ad sustinendas secum iniurias venirent; qui vero in supradicto coenobio (sc. Luxeuil) remanere voluerint, securi in hoc loco remanerent." On the instructions of the escort, only those monks who had followed Columban from Ireland or Britain were allowed to go with him into exile. Attala, a Burgundian noble, had been a monk of Lérins; but he left that monastery, whose discipline he found too lax, in order to join himself to Columban. If he presided over the community of Luxeuil, it can only have been for a very short time; as Abbot of Bobbio, which he became on Columban's death, he was noted for the strictness of his rule (Jonas II,1 foll.).

3. periculum sc. "sit"; there is no need for Gundlach's proposed addition of the words "notum est". What is here described is the "periculum iudicantis", to which a spiritual director is exposed (cf. Reg. Mon. cap. IX, p.177,15); and the

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whole phrase may be translated "the perilous direction of your souls."

4. Waldelenus is a Frankish name, and its appearance in the traditional list of Columban's twelve original companions is therefore surely an error. Jonas (I,14) mentions a "dux quidam Waldelenus", who was the father of Donatus, and probably brother to Duke Amalgaire, whose own son, the younger Waldelenus, became a monk of Luxeuil. This is the individual whom Columban here designates as his second choice; he may have governed Luxeuil for a brief period, before Eustasius became Abbot, but, preferring a missionary career, he preached in Picardy, and founded the monastery of Bèze about the year 630 (cf. E.J.McCarthy, Saint Columban pp.224-5). Roussel (St Colomban et l'Épopée Colombanienne I p.128) attempts to distinguish a third Waldelenus, also a monk of Luxeuil, and the friend and companion of St Valéry; the family of this third Waldelenus was so poor that his brothers came to the monastery begging food (Vita Valerici, M.G.H. Script. Rerum Merov. IV p.167).

5. praepositus This office was junior to that of the Abbot, and its holder had charge of a group of monks, or of a dependent house; the "praepositus" is distinguished from the "pater senior", or Abbot, in Reg. Coen. cap. VII (p.190,18), and the term is probably used because Columban still regarded himself

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as at least nominally in supreme control of his monasteries.

6. intellegere certum Either the subject is Attala, and the meaning is that he will soon be able to make up his mind on the course that he should follow; or, more probably, Waldelenus is the subject, and Columban declares that he will quickly be able to reach "a sure understanding" of the duties attached to the office which he may be called upon to undertake.

8-9. plus...nocuerunt This passage clearly shows that a party amongst Columban's monks had actually sided with his opponents; these were probably drawn from his later French adherents, to whom the Irish Easter calculations cannot have been congenial.

12. regulae unitate Reg. Mon. cap. I (p.162,17) demands obedience to the superior "usque ad mortem", and pronounces that for the disobedient "opus eius abiiciatur" (ib. line 15); Reg. Coen. cap. VI (p.189,15 foll.) condemns the proud and contumacious to solitary confinement. Columbanus here insists that the same discipline is to be administered impartially to all.

13. Libranum The name (Libhran) indicates an Irishman; he is not mentioned by Jonas, but figures in the traditional list of Columban's twelve companions from Bangor (cf. M.Stokes, following Mabillon, Six Months in the Apennines pp.112-3).

16. tunc festinans i.e. in the hurry and confusion of Columban's departure. The scene is described by Jonas (I,20) "meror omnium corda repleverat" etc. and this personal tenderness of

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Columban for his monks must be set against the undoubted severity of his Rule.

16. indolis sc. of his disciples; cf. "profectum animarum" (line 18 below).

19. discordiae to which Attala, by his severity and close relation to Columban, might specially give rise.

Page 34, line 1. alienare velint Either from Columban's person, or from his Rule, or from one another; or perhaps all three senses are intended. The subject is Columban's enemies amongst the French hierarchy.

6. unum non sit i.e. "is not at one" with you.

8-9. Quid...cor ? The same idea is expanded in Instr.II (p.99,4-6) "Quid ergo prodest exterioris hominis religio, si interioris quoque non adhibeatur emendatio ?"

13-4. subeas...sudavi There may be an echo here of some phrases from Horace (Serm. I,9,21 "subiit onus"; Ep. II, I,169 "sudoris minimum; sed habet...tanto Plus oneris").

15. non omnia omnibus Columban's direction was personal and individual, rather than legal, except in its broadest principles, and it allowed much discretion to the confessor; for the idea, compare especially Paenit. A 12 (p.210, 10-3)

"....unusquisque iuxta quod meretur quodaequalia sentiat."

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20. temperabo Columban is afraid that by permitting exceptions, he may lose the entire spirit and basis of his Rule.

Page 35, line 6. inde i.e. from the side of his disciples; their hatred and their love may both alike be dangerous to the soul of the spiritual director.

8. unius The word is emphatic; Columban's single ruling desire is for the salvation of souls.

10. secretum to be taken as a noun ("a solitary retreat"). Columban chose a remote cave in the neighbourhood of each of his foundations, to which he withdrew whenever possible; he regards this discipline of solitude as a necessary compliment to his desire for the salvation of souls, and hence the question, "Was he primarily missionary or monk?" really presents a false alternative.

14. cognoscere i.e. "experience" both types of life.

18. ligavi i.e. by leaving his Rule in writing, and by appointing a successor of firm and austere character.

19. doctrinae refers to Columban's ascetic teaching.

Page 36, line 4. heredes In Irish practice, the monks formed a legal family or tribe, and the Abbot was heir (co-arb) to his predecessors.

8. Aidus episcopus Fleming (Collectanea Sacra p.135 note q) wrongly suggested that this was Arigius, or Aridius, Bishop

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of Lyons. The Life of Nicetius, Bishop of Besançon (AA. SS. 8th Feb.) is equally in error when it says "cuius (sc. Columban) rogatu B. Nicetius ... in utroque coenobio ... quia in sua erant dioecesi, altaria dedicavit"; to pursue the matter no further, it would have been physically impossible for Nicetius, who flourished about 650, to do so, and in point of fact, Columban did not recognize any visitatorial power in the local diocesan. He maintained the complete independence of his monasteries after the Irish fashion, and this policy was continued by his successors; in 628, Bertulf, Abbot of Bobbio, after successfully resisting the claims of the Bishop of Tortona, obtained from Pope Honorius a charter of exemption which was preserved as a model at the Curia (cf. Jonas II,23 "privilegia Sedis Apostolicae largitus est, quatenus nullus episcoporum in praefato caenobio quolibet iure dominare conaretur"). For these reasons, Hauck (Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands I p.266) and Krusch (Jonas, Intro. p.6) are correct in maintaining that Aidus was, as his name suggests, a Celt; he may have been an early "episcopus vagus", but it is more probable (cf. Roussel, St Colomban &c. I p.97) that he came with Columban from Bangor, in order to provide the party with those ministrations for which a bishop was indispensable, and it is even possible that his name survives in the Luxeuil version of the Martyrologium Hieronymi ("II Non. Jan. Aedui

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episcopi" -- see Neues Archiv XXIV p.311). The alternative is to suppose that the "altar" was a portable stone, which had been blessed in Ireland, and carried thence by Columban to France.

10. persecutio Something has certainly been lost, but perhaps only a single word (e.g. "sustulerit"); "observa" may be supplied as the main verb from the previous sentence.

12. gentes The pagans of Germany and/or Switzerland.

13. Fedolio The manuscript readings ("fee.moda" or "fel.moda") undoubtedly conceal some proper name. I have ventured to introduce that of Fedolius, to whom, under the name of Fidolius, Columban later sent a poem in Adonic verse; for the fact that this poem exists in an eighth-century manuscript of German origin suggests that its recipient may at one time have lived or travelled across the Rhine, and would therefore have been in a position to advise about the prospects of missionary work in that locality.

14. tulit i.e. "abstulit".

Page 37, line 4. Quidam philosophus Anaxagoras, who was born about 490, and became one of the intimates of Pericles, may be intended here; accounts vary, both as to his philosophy and as to his punishment. Augustine (Civ. Dei VIII,2) describes his teaching in the following terms: "Anaxagoras vero ... harum

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rerum omnium quas videmus effectorem divinum animum sensit, et dixit ex infinita materia quae constaret similibus inter se particulis rerum omnium genera ... singula fieri, sed animo faciente divino." Diogenes Laertius (De clar. phil. vitis II iii 12-3) mentions various accounts of his trial for impiety, including this: "Ἐπειταπὸς δ' ἐν τοῖς βίοις φησὶν ὅτι καθεῖρχθη ἐν τῷ δεσποτηρίῳ τεθνηξομένου.".

9. sequantur cf. Reg. Mon. cap. IV (p.165,14-5) "Christum dominum cum timoris cruce cottidiani sequentes".

11. sacramentum here means "mystery".

16. confusionis i.e. "shame".

20. innumerabilis i.e. "incalculable".

Page 38, line 2. ibi i.e. in the workings of Providence, with special reference to the Crucifixion.

2-3. refrigeria...mysteria These words sound like the echo of some Latin hymn.

10. In fine etc. For the sentiment, compare Jerome, Epist. 54,6 (P.L. 22,552) "non quaeruntur in Christianis initia sed finis."

Page 39, line 8. potentiae This, rather than "patientiae", is indicated as the correct reading by the context to the passage in Job (the whirlwind etc.).

11-2. et ipsam datam i.e. even human ability is itself a gift from God; but it remains the duty of man to "exercise" this of his own accord.

15. quidam Gregory, Regula Pastoralis IV (P.L. 77,125 B)

"Quibusdam saepe magnitudo virtutis occasio perditionis fuit."

18. scriptum est The same passage is quoted by Gregory (ib. 125 O) with the comment "Ac si aperte diceretur; quia ex virtutum decore te elevas, ipsa tua pulchritudine impelleris ut cadas."

Page 40, line 4. degressa passive voice.

9. studium nostrum i.e. the zealous practice of the ascetic life; cf. Instr. III (p.103, 4 foll.) "Ad id (sc. the performance of God's will) quomodo pervenitur? Studio. Studendum est ergo in pietate et aequitate."

10. officii rem legitimi Translate "the substance of our lawful duty"; the underlying idea is that of Luke 17,10 "Sic et vos cum feceritis omnia quae praecepta sunt vobis, dicite: Servi inutiles sumus; quod debuimus facere, fecimus."

14. in medio sc. "positam". Columbanus is a convinced believer in human free-will, compare Instr. X (p.140, 14-5) "Sed tamen arbitrii electionem, amissa licet beatitudine, non amisit"; in para 7 below, he goes on to speak of the frailty of the will.

15. aguilone This, by the derivation of its name, is the dark and stormy region; and in the prophets (Jer. 1, 14-5 etc.) it regularly features as the home of Israel's enemies.

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20. haec i.e. these conditions of human life (as a battle with the powers of evil); translate "stand where they have been."

Page 41, line 2. stabilitas The word refers especially to steadfastness in the monastic profession.

2. sint sc. "nobis"; this clause is governed by "necesse est".

3. si non sc. "sint nobis"; without the qualities listed above, defeat is inevitable.

6. vorticum fragoribus i.e. "thundering eddies"; Columban again (cf. p.27,10) pictures human life as a ship surrounded by stormy seas.

9-10. licet tuum, non est tuum Translate, "though it is your duty, yet it is not within your power"; Gundlach's emendation ("licet tuum non est, est tuum") destroys the sense of the passage, which is to show the need for grace.

12. foll. nisi misericordia etc. This somewhat obscure sentence is to be translated thus (with the emendation of "prosperitate" to prosperitatis in line 14): "...unless the Lord's mercy also grants the will, namely that the pilgrim's vows should be fulfilled and have full course, and that, avoiding the pitfalls and offences of prosperity and opposing circumstances, his journey should be completed without stain."

compleri...currere...finiri are all governed by velle (line 13).

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gradientis refers to the Christian pilgrim (cf. p.40,6 above).
prosperitatis lapsus for the dangers of "prosperity" compare
 Epist. V (p.54,14-5) "Omnium enim malorum causa est caeca
 prosperitatis securitas."

18. induratur derelictus "superbus" is probably to be taken
 as the subject of this clause (as well as of "est" in line 19);
 the proud man is "abandoned and hardened" in his own devices.

Page 42, line 1. viris is emphatic; by real men he is "especially
 considered to be worthy of disdain." maxime is obviously
 necessary to the sense; Fleming, finding his original to be
 illegible, supplied "minime", which is the exact opposite of
 the word required.

7. rependere i.e. "consider as equivalent"; for the sentiment,
 compare p.15,10 foll. above.

7. Forsan hoc hic i.e. "Perhaps this (acceptance of words in
 place of deeds) may obtain here (on earth)."

8-9. illic...ibi in heaven.

11-2. in meam regionem Ireland; there was a direct and regular
 trade-route between that country and the mouth of the Loire.

12. fugiero This is the post-classical form of the future
 perfect. It appears that Columban's enemies were merely
 anxious to be rid of him as cheaply as possible.

15. orate After addressing the main portion of his letter to
 Attala alone, Columban concludes by writing to the community
 as a whole.

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15-6. felici revocans remigio i.e. "restoring (me) by a happy voyage"; remigio, not literally applicable to the operations of a whale, is chosen for the sake of alliteration.

16. celator This word occurs once only in classical Latin (Lucan Phars. 10,286); Columban hopes for a helper to conceal him in his escape, as the whale hid Jonah in his belly.

17. terrae optatae i.e. the Continent; Columban, having undertaken "the pilgrimage", has no desire to return home to Ireland (cf. "invitus" in line 11 above).

18. pergamena This word is usually a substantive, or else "charta" is to be supplied; here it is an adjective, in agreement with epistula.

Page 43, line 1. missa The word appears to mean "missive", but the dictionaries quote no examples of the substantival use; therefore, "epistula" is probably to be supplied; cf. Fidolio lines 14-7 "tua...missa...pagina."

3. diversitate voluntatum Columban does not wish to stir up further dissension amongst the monks, by writing in too severe a tone.

4. lenocinio He fears that his affection may have led him to pander to his disciples' weakness.

8. occasione hac The exile of their abbot.

16. fratres vestri The Irish and British monks exiled along with Columban (Jonas I,20), whom he suggests that the remainder might now join.

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16. Britonum i.e. the inhabitants of Brittany.

18. quae melior sit Columban's government is aristocratic, not democratic; he is well aware of the danger of laxity to which the majority, if left to themselves, would be exposed.

19. interim i.e. until Columban can make some more permanent arrangement.

Page 44, line 2. loca in Brittany, or wherever the "melior pars" might choose to settle.

4. viscera mea The tenderness prevailing in the Irish monasteries is illustrated by the fact that "muintir" ("monasterium") became the ordinary Erse for "family".

EPISTULA V.

Written from Milan to Pope Boniface IV in 613.

Salutation -- Columban's apparent presumption in writing is excused by the grave situation into which the Papacy has fallen -- He professes his personal loyalty to Rome, and the orthodoxy of the Irish Church -- He urges the Pope to demonstrate the purity of his doctrine by summoning a Council -- The errors of Vigilius, and the high responsibilities of the Papal office -- Columban is amazed at the torpor of the Italian Church -- If the accusations of Papal heresy should be true, it will be the duty of the Pope's juniors to resist him -- The fame and honour of Christian Rome will abide only so long as the true Faith abides, and an equal prerogative is justly accorded to all who remain in the Truth -- Columban urges the contending parties to heal their abominable schism, by a joint profession of the common Faith -- He humbly intreats the Pope to act, and explains how the theological difficulties of King Agilulf have furnished him with an urgent reason for writing -- The joy that will follow a happy termination of the schism.

Page 45, line 2. Capiti Columban accords to Rome the pre-eminence of honour and chief executive authority; he refuses to accord anything resembling infallibility to the Pope (see especially p.59, 18-9 below).

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5. micrologus See on p.1,12.

7. rara avis i.e. a rarity (cf. Pers. Sat. 1,46 "rara avis"); the phrase is particularly appropriate in view of Columban's name.

8. Palumbus This word is used in preference to "Columba" for the sake of alliteration with "Patri".

9. glabrum (which properly means a beardless young slave) is here used by Columban to denote himself as a person of humble station, and small experience of life.

11-2. talionis incentor i.e. "inciter to revenge".

18. si in persona cavillatur "if he takes exception to my person (station)"; a rare, but classical, construction (cf. Cic. Nat. Deor. III,34,83).

Page 46, line 1. Arianus The majority of the Lombards, including their king, Agilulf, were Arians; Columban felt that the schism amongst the Catholics was a serious obstacle to missionary endeavour directed at these heretics. For the origins and progress of the "Three Chapters" schism, see Introduction, chapter II sect. 4.

2. alii This must refer to undeclared opponents of the Papacy amongst the Catholics of North Italy, and perhaps includes the "Agrippinus" of p.48,18.

7. viris As well as to the Pope, Columban also addresses himself to the Roman clergy (cf. p.70,11 "sancte papa et fratres, orate pro me...iuxta loca sancta...et praecipue iuxta Petrum et Paulum"). But the frequent changes from the singular to the plural number in this letter cannot satisfactorily be explained by the theory of Dom Laporte (in Mélanges Colombaniens, 1950, p.78), that what we have here is really a conflation of two epistles, one directed to the Roman clergy, and the other to the Pope (see Intro. chapter III sect. 2). Rather is it the case that Columban feels himself to be writing, through the Pope, an open letter to the Church at large; thus in lines 9-10 below ("per vos contententes utrimque"), we find him addressing the two contending parties in the schism.

10. gentes In particular, this includes the Arian heretics ("gentiles") of Lombardy.

12. super me As a responsible member of the Church, Columban feels the position of the Papacy to be a matter of personal concern to himself; at the same time, his personal concern, interpreted at Rome as presumption, may prove a source of danger to himself.

13. prima fronte i.e. "at the first blush" (as in Quint. Inst. Or. VII, I,56 "Dura prima fronte quaestio").

13. sub prunas...faciem ponam The metaphor is taken from one who, while blowing up the coals, puts his face into the fire;

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Columban knows that by writing the present letter he is, in the popular phrase, "playing with fire".

14. facies i.e. "reputation"; the writer continues his mild punning on the various senses of "frons" and "facies".

17. exaudiar...despiciar sc. by the Pope and his advisers.

20. spiritualis navis i.e. the Church; this metaphor, a favourite one with Columban, here introduces a series of nautical images.

Page 47, line 1. mysticis prorētis These look-out men, posted at the prow, are the Church's leaders, and successors to the Apostles; cf. Lorica S. Gildae, 6 (Blume, Analecta Hymnica LI p.359) "Apostolos navis Christi prorētas."

3-10. non una sola etc. The antithesis is obviously between the momentary threat of a single great wave, on the one hand, and, on the other, the prolonged danger of a general storm; I have therefore made the following emendations:- "una" in line 3, and "per mutum" in line 4; and I have taken Gundlach's reading in line 7, "Orco molibus". The key to the interpretation of the passage is to recognize that cautis in line 4 is the genitive singular of the feminine noun, and not, as Gundlach wrongly imagined, the ablative or dative plural of the participle. Translate, "because not one solitary threatening wave (which, even over a quiet sea, is by the ever foaming eddies of a hollow rock raised up to an overwhelming height, though

it surges from afar, and which drives the sails before it while Death ploughs the waters) but a tempest of the entire element, which is indeed swelling and troubled upon every side, threatens wreck of the mystical ship." hyperbolice (line 5) frequently appears in this type of rhetorical passage (cf. p.7,19 above); it probably belongs to Columban's original text, but may be the marginal comment of some early reader, which has been incorporated by later scribes.

15. Iberi It is tempting to read "Hiberni"; but Columban may have believed, with Tacitus, in a Spanish origin for the Celtic race (cf. Tac. Agr. 11 "Silurum colorati vultus, torti plerumque crines et posita contra Hispania Hiberos veteres traiecisse easque sedes occupasse fidem faciunt").

16-7. nihil...recipientes For the Irish devotion to the Scriptures, cf. p.7,2 etc. above; also Bede, Hist. Eccl. III,4 (P.L. 95,122 B) "...tantum ea quae in propheticis, evangelicis et apostolicis litteris discere poterant pietatis et castitatis opera diligenter observantes." Bede finds the reason for this Biblicism in the inability of the Irish to obtain other Christian writings than the Bible. But Columban, whose works show him to have been familiar with a number of the Fathers, treats the primacy of Scripture as a doctrinal principle; he had been trained in a monastery which is described in the ancient hymn as "Verbo Dei subacta" (Antiphonary of Bangor, ed. Warren, fol. 30 recto).

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17. iudaeus The word refers especially to the accusation of Quartodeciman heresy.

19. a vobis Columban ascribes the origin of Christianity in Ireland to the missionary interest of the Popes; cf. Prosper's Chronicon (Haddan and Stubbs, Councils &c. II ii p.290) "ad Scotos in Christum credentes ordinatus a papa Coelestino Palladius primus episcopus mittitur." Bury, Life of St Patrick p.221, maintains that "no less than Augustine, no less than Boniface, he (Patrick) was the bearer of the Roman idea."

Page 48, line 10. necessariae...meae i.e. "a suggestion of the necessity for my presumption" cf. p.150,1 below.

13-4. filius...pater There is perhaps an echo here of Prov.13,1 "Filius sapiens, doctrina patris."

15. dixi p.47,18-20 above.

17. altera This is one of several works, written at Milan, which have not survived.

18. Agrippinum The manuscript reading appears to indicate this name; he is identified by E.Martin (St Coloman, p.157) as the Agrippinus who became Bishop of Como in 568. According to the Catholic Encyclopedia (s.v. Como), a successor to this bishop had been appointed by the year 586; it therefore seems probable that, owing to his support for the Three Chapters, he ended his days out of communion with the Catholic Church.

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19. indiscretioni i.e. "lack of judgement".

20. elationi i.e. "lack of humility".

Page 49, line 2. ovibus vestris Columban's thought is here influenced by one of his favourite chapters, John 10; cf. lines 8 and 10 below.

4. alternantem The Papacy under Vigilius had shown a doubtful and wavering attitude to the question of the Three Chapters.

4. convertibulum The word is not listed in the Thesaurus Linguae Latinae, or in any of the Dictionaries; I take it to mean a place where sheep are "turned (herded) together" i.e. a fold.

10. Populus sc. of Lombardy.

14. elidi i.e. "be extirpated".

15. tanti Apart from the numerous Arians, many bishops of North Italy had sided with the schismatical party over the question of the Three Chapters, and the schism was to last until the Council of Aquileia in 700.

17. compungat i.e. "goad on".

19. baculum...nuceum Owing to a misunderstanding of the two senses of the Hebrew $\gamma\pi\omega$, the Vulgate translates the "almond staff" (baculum nuceum) of Jerem. I, 11 as "virgam vigilantem"; the Septuagint has the correct translation ($\beta\alpha\chi\tau\eta\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu \kappa\alpha\rho\upsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\eta\nu$), as is noted by Jerome (ad loc. P.L. 24, 684 D) "Pro virga vigilante, LXX baculum nuceum transtulerunt". It is this correct version which Columban follows here; he hopes that the Pope will find

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his staff, the symbol of authority, turned to a hook (uncinum) for gathering the fruit at its proper season.

Page 50, line 1, honore For the expression, compare Jerome Epist. XVI ad Damasum (P.L. 22,359) "Idcirco obtestor Beatitudinem tuam....ut qui Apostolos honore sequeris, sequaris et merito..."

2. testimonio i.e. "a public pronouncement".

2. scripto i.e. "a written judgement".

3. muni synodo Columban appears to regard the Pope in Council, and not the Pope in person, as supreme; hence he urges the calling of a Council as a means of giving added weight to his authority. A historical precedent for the convocation of a Council in circumstances when the Papacy had fallen under suspicion was provided in the year 501, when Pope Symmachus, accused of simony, had consented to appear before a Council whose members were nominated by Theodoric; but on the failure of the Pope to appear, the Council then remitted judgement to God (cf.

L.Duchesne, L'Eglise au VIe Siècle, p.117 foll.).

4. consiliolum The word is not listed in the Thesaurus Ling. Lat.; but the Irish temperament was prolific in the production of new diminutives.

5. Mundus iam declinat For Columban's views on the world's approaching end, see note on p.1,3 above; Gregory the Great had already expressed a similar opinion, e.g. in Homil. I in Evang. (P.L. 76,1077 C foll.).

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7. pugnis This is probably the ablative plural, not of "pugna", but of "pugnus" (i.e. "fist, blow").

8. ebriis Fleming here reads "Hebraeis"; but the confusion is a common one, cf. the description of the Three Holy Children as "tres ebrei venerabiles" in the Antiphonary of Bangor (ed. Warren, fol. 27 verso).

9. contingant sequentia securitati "sequentia" is both linked to "securitati" and explained by the words which follow in line 10; "securitati" is dependent both on "contingant" and on "sequentia". Translate "lest heedlessness receive the consequent reward". The meaning of "securitas" as "heedlessness" is post-Augustan; cf. p.54,14-5 below "Omnium enim malorum causa est caeca prosperitatis securitas."

15. vigilavit Vigilius To Columban, proper names conceal an indication of the character their bearers ought to show; cf. p.51,2 and the play upon his own name ("rara avis...Palumbus") on p.45,7-8 above. Vigilius was Pope from 537 to 555; after much vacillation, and under the strongest Imperial pressure, he agreed to concur in the condemnation of the Three Chapters in 554.

20. vastatio The Dictionaries quote no examples of this metaphorical use of the word.

Page 51, line 2. nominis interpretationem Again, Columban professes to read a person's ideal character from the meaning of

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his name; "Boniface" is derived from "Bonum fatum", which he seems to take in its original sense of "prophetic utterance".

3. speculam By choosing this word, Columban glances at the Pope's duty as a "Speculator" or bishop.

11. prosperitatem The Arian heresy, which is probably intended here, always appealed to the well-to-do, as a rationalistic and not very exacting faith; it was patronized by the favour of the Imperial Court in the fourth century, and in North Italy, its principal supporters were now the Lombard aristocracy. Poverty, on the other hand, tends to make men seek a truly Divine Saviour.

13. minas Domini e.g. in Ezech. 3,17 foll.

Page 52, line 2. haec This, as on p.51,20, refers to the sad story of Vigilius; illa and ista (line 4) refer to the present plight of the Papacy. Both are linked together (line 3), though the latter requires attention first; and it is simply Columban's zeal for the honour of the Church (religio, line 5) that makes him to be concerned with a former mistake (error, line 5). Hence "these" past events "have a bearing on" (faciunt ad) "the declared general outlines" (proposita...genera) "of his first" or chief "proposal", namely the recovery of Papal prestige.

6-7. stat causa The phrase is frequent and classical; cf. Horat. Carm. I, 16,19 "Stetere causae" and Verg. Aen. VII, 553 "Stant belli causae".

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7. bis acutus i.e. "sharpened on both sides" (Apoc. I,16 "utroque parte acutus", Greek δίτομος ὀξεῖα). In Hebr. 4,12, from which the rest of the quotation is taken, the words are "gladio ancipiti."
10. nervos The nerve-fibres which connect the Papacy with its melancholy past must be cut "right to the bone" (usque ad os).

Page 53, line 2, descendens de i.e. "falling on" (sc. the subject of); the metaphor is taken from the picture of a thunderbolt striking some terrestrial object.

3. cecidit dicendo i.e. "smote" (sc. the objects of Christ's indignation) "with the words".

12. in fine See on p.50,5.

12-3. tempora periculosa The times had been particularly perilous in France, where the war between Theudebert and Theuderic was but newly finished.

16. bellator means anyone capable of bearing arms, as opposed to "miles", a professional soldier.

19. exercitus This genitive depends on "periculum", p.54, line 2 below.

19. in his regionibus The following words show that this is intended to refer only to Italy; but Columban recognized the Papacy as the "head of all the Churches of Europe" (p.45, 1-2).

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Page 54, line 3. potestatem This passage ascribes a supreme, though rather vague, executive authority to the Papacy; it says nothing of doctrinal infallibility.

12. triplicibus It is difficult to find any more precise meaning here than "in serried array", three ranks being the traditional formation of the Roman army; it is possible, however, that there is also a reference to the threefold field of battle -- body, soul and spirit -- as may be the case with "triundalibus" on p.60,12.

Page 55, line 4. in antea i.e. "formerly"; also written as one word.

6-7. quidam...contemplator Translate "some beholder of the corpses on the battle-field, bedewed and spattered after the fight"; the picture is of one who, at the very moment when the battle ends, finds his clothes stained by the freshly-scattered blood from the bodies which surround him on the field. roscidus, a poetical and picturesque expression, is explained by madidus; the variant "inscius" is unlikely to be correct, for Columban has just (in lines 2-3) been remarking on his previous experience of the spiritual warfare.

8. unica spes The phrase is used by Sedulius, Carm. Pasch. 1,60 ("spes unica mundi").

10. stragem i.e. by its acceptance of alleged heresy.

11. quia The main clause is introduced, with a slight anacolouthon, by tum in line 15.

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11. fragilis ingenii cymba This expression is borrowed from Cassian (Conl. Pars 1 Praef. -- P.L. 49, 479 B -- "Tanto enim profundioris navigationis periculis fragilis ingenii cymba iactanda est...").

13. haereat The subjunctive is presumably to be explained by a suppressed condition; Columban's discourse "would stick" on one point, sc. if it were not for the King's request.

14-5. epistolae angustis Pliny (Ep. IV,17,11) seems first to have employed this metaphor; compare also Aldhelm, Epist. ad Heddam (M.G.H. Epp. III p.236, line 17) "sed de his diutius ratiocinari stricta epistolaris angustia minime sinit."

15. rege The Lombard Agilulf, who by his marriage with Theudelinda had become King of Milan in 590.

16. singillatim i.e. "point by point".

18. regina...filio Though himself an Arian, Agilulf had been persuaded by his orthodox Queen to allow their son Adalwald a Catholic baptism (cf. the Epistle of Gregory, dated 603, in Jaffé, Regesta 1925; Paulus, Hist. Langobard. IV,28); with the royal family thus divided over religion, Columban hoped to find opportunity for persuading the King to accept the orthodox Faith (cf. crederet in line 20).

19. si certum sciret i.e. if the dissensions amongst the Catholics would allow him to "know for certain" what in detail their faith might be.

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Page 56, line 1. librum Columban here returns to the theme of the Three Chapters, which he had deserted in para. 6 (p.51,20 above); he has mentioned no specific "book", but it is probable that he here refers to the fatal Iudicatum, by which Vigilius consented to the condemnation of the disputed writings.

2. fune erroris i.e. "chain of error"; the present schism is linked to the history of the Papacy over the last half century.

2-3. latro antiquus i.e. the devil (cf. John 10,1).

4. cultello The source of Peter's power is his "confessio fidei" (line 5); compare Matt. 16,16.

11. non tenetur Columban leaves the question of Papal heresy as an open possibility, though p.57,4 below shows that in the present instance he continued to believe and hope for the best.

14. partem i.e. the supporters of the Three Chapters, headed by Agrippinus (p.48,18) whom Roussel (St Colomban et l'Épopée Colombanienne I p.192) describes as "the Coryphaeus of the schism".

15. potestatem This passage recognizes the Pope's universal jurisdiction; but makes it depend upon his own adherence to the orthodox Faith (line 16).

19. animadversione Nicaea canon 5 (Hefele-Leclercq I i p.548) provides for a review of sentences of excommunication by regular provincial councils, and this is the only pronouncement by the Nicene fathers (a patribus) on the subject; perhaps, however,

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Columban rather has in mind the anathemas directed by them against the Arians, who had accused the innocent orthodox of heresy, and he is suggesting that the Pope should take similar action in another council, if the Papacy is innocent of the defection charged against it.

Page 57, line 2. acuta The word probably means "shrill", and refers to the strident outcries of an angry crowd.

4. crederem Gundlach comments "sc. te causis quas commemoravi commotum esse"; but the run of the sentence suggests that the object is rather to be taken as haec (line 3), i.e. the accusations levelled at the Papacy (for Columban's belief in the Pope's innocence, cf. p.48,6 foll. above).

5. fieri Gundlach comments "sc. condemnationes atque excommunicationes"; rather should we supply "investigationes" from investigare in line 4. The meaning is that, although Columban is unwilling to believe the accusations, he none the less thinks they should be investigated.

6. comprovinciales i.e. the Bishops of Italy.

7. hos Gundlach comments "quibus si indulseris, ipse quoque culpa includeris, ita ut non iam libere agere possis; non enim etc." The meaning is that, if the Pope swallows a mouthful of domestic heresy and discord, (vicina contrariete, line 9), he will no longer be able to blow and kindle the fire of true faith throughout the world.

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Page 58, line 2, lusus currus "a chariot-race" i.e. a merely sporting encounter.

5. Eutychen, Nestorium The supporters of the Three Chapters somewhat illogically accused their opponents of these two opposite heresies although they could justly be charged only with the former; for the conjunction of the two names, compare the letter of Nicetius to Justinian (M.G.H. Epp. III p.118) "Nestorii et Euticii, ut diximus, iam anathematizata quotiens sectavit (al. secta ut) te de ipsa interimeres, quis imperavit ?..."

6. Dioscorum Dioscorus succeeded Cyril as Patriarch of Alexandria in 444, and later was condemned for Monophysite heresy.

7. synodo The Second Council of Constantinople, which met in 553 and is reckoned as the Fifth Ecumenical Council; its condemnation of the Three Chapters, intended to reconcile the Monophysites of the East, implicitly cast doubt on the findings of the Council of Chalcedon, which had left these writings uncondemned.

11. recitatis i.e. in the Canon of the Mass.

15. resistunt Columban gives whole-hearted support to the doctrine that a heretical Pope is ipso facto deprived of his office; otherwise, the Church would have no right to set itself in opposition to him.

20. vestri iudices erunt The words are taken from Luke 11,19, where Christ appeals to the judgement of those "sons of the

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Pharisees" who successfully cast out devils. From this, J.Rivière (in Revue des Sciences Religieuses III, 1923, pp.277 foll.) argues that Columban's present statement is to be taken only as referring to a private moral judgement, and that it is not meant to describe any official process by the Church. On the other hand, Columban has expressly stated (p.50,1) that the right to Apostolic honour depends on the preservation of the Apostolic Faith, and he now adds that the Pope's inferiors are entitled to judge whether that Faith has been preserved; it is really irrelevant whether this judgement is to be formed privately or publicly, since it can justly (merito, line 14 above) issue in open and public opposition. Columban is not a Papalist, in the modern sense, although he has a deep feeling for the dignity of the Roman See; he belongs rather to that school, of which Gratian, Cardinal Deusdedit and Ivo of Chartres were the later representatives, and which maintained that the Pope is ultimately responsible to and judgable by the entire Church.

Page 59, line 3. veri catholici True Catholic orthodoxy, according to Columban, depends on loyalty to the Apostolic Faith, and not on communion with the Roman See.

6. isti i.e. the supporters and advisers of the Pope.

9. utrique i.e. the two contending parties in the schism;

Columban again feels that, through the Pope, he is as it were addressing an open letter to the Church at large.

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10. hereticos i.e. Nestorius, Eutyches and the rest.

11. suspectos i.e. Theodore of Mopsuestia, Theodoret and Ibas, the authors of the "suspect" writings known as the Three Chapters.

11. culpabiles Columban seems to hold the charitable doctrine that, where there is schism, there must be faults upon both sides; and he suggests that the shortest path to reunion will be by a common confession of sins.

14. forinsecus The word refers to the general public, outside the realm of technical theological debate; Columban fears that his words may offend lay or unlearned Christians.

15. consequentiae ratio historicae i.e. "the inner nature of the sequence of events" from Vigilinus to the time of writing; Fleming's "consequentis...historiae" would give the same meaning, but it depends in part upon conjectural emendation.

17. libertas paternae consuetudinis The rugged independence of the Celtic mind is well illustrated by the letter of Augustine's successor, Laurentius (Bede Hist. Eccl. II,4), in which the apparent incivility of Columban and of Bishop Daganus is described.

18-9. Non...persona, sed ratio It would be difficult to conceive a more precise repudiation of extreme Papal claims; persona refers to official status, no less than to private character.

20. stupor i.e. "shame, remorse".

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Page 60, line 1, chorus The harmonious co-operation of the angelic choirs should be evident also in the Church.

4. ante pp.46,18-9, 47,12 foll. and 48,8. It is Columban's affection for the See of Peter that makes him so jealous for the honour of its occupants; but, as the preceding passage makes clear, he does not mean that he will blindly follow the lead of any Pope. For the sentiment, compare Jerome Epist. XVI ad Damasum (P.L. 22,359) "Ego interim clamito, si quis cathedrae Petri iungitur, meus est."

7. apud nos Ireland owed her Christianity, at least in part, to the Roman Church, but she had received neither law nor government from the Roman Empire; hence it is only for its Christian heritage that Rome is famous in her eyes.

7 foll. Quamquam enim etc. This complicated sentence is one of the purplest of Columban's purple passages; after a dependent clause, Quamquam...nomen...vulgatum est (lines 7-15), the main clause is introduced by the words ex eo tamen tempore, but owing to a further digression, quo Dei filius...multiplicavit quadrigas (line 16 to p.61,1), the main verb of the whole sentence, pervenit, is not reached until p.61,5. Translate "For although the name of the city which is Italy's glory, like some thing most holy and far removed from heaven's common climes -- a city once founded to the great joy of almost all nations -- has been published far and wide through the whole world, even as far as the Western

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regions of earth's further strand, miraculously unhindered by ocean's mighty floods, though they leaped and rose beyond measure upon every side, yet..."

8. Ausonici This form of the adjective (usually "Ausonius") is not listed in the Thesaurus Ling. Lat.

12. transmundialis i.e. "very remote"; the word is not in DuCange, Forcellini or Lewis and Short.

12. triundalibus None of the Dictionaries recognize this word, but there is no need for Gundlach's emendation "triumphalibus", for it occurs in one of the glosses (C.G.L. V 396,51) --

"Triundali gurgite quasi triplici unda." A "three-fold" wave is presumably a particularly strong one (see also on p.54,12); cf. "triplici fluctu" (a fragment of Sallust quoted by Servius on Verg. Aen. I,116). Columban is remarkably fond of nautical metaphors, which he uses also on p.47,2 foll. above.

15. tempore Columban does not mean that the Irish Church originated at the time of the Incarnation; but the victorious advance then begun, of which Peter and Paul were chief instruments, led at a later stage to the conversion of Ireland.

18. equis The metaphor is taken from the picture of a charioteer, here conceived as the Spirit of God, driving a pair of horses.

19. cara pignora cf. Verg. Ecl. VIII,92 "pignora cara"; the words here refer, of course, to the relics of SS. Peter and Paul, believed to be preserved at Rome.

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20. equitans turbavit aquas cf. Horat. Carm. IV 4,43 "eurus Per Siculas equitavit undas"; Ovid. Met. III,475 "turbavit aquas". The poetical colouring of this passage is evident throughout its whole vocabulary.

Page 61, line 1. quadrigas Each congregation of the faithful, as a vehicle for Christ's advance, is viewed as a fresh chariot added to His army; at the same time, the Church being His Body, He is Himself in a special sense the chariot (currus illius, qui est Christus in lines 2-3).

2. auriga The charioteer is now imaged as God the Father, to Whom Christ's human nature provides a vehicle for the divine; auriga must not be taken as the antecedent to qui, for then Christ would be described as Pater verus.

3. agitator a common synonym for auriga.

4. euriporum i.e. "narrow straits"; the word is classical in this sense (cf. Cic. Mur. 17,35 "Quod enim fretum, quem euripum..."), and has already appeared on p.7,8 above.

4. rheuma i.e. "flood", a word common in ecclesiastical Latin; Jonas speaks of "reuma gurgitum" in the prefatory letter to his Life of Columban.

4. delfinum dorsa It is just possible that Columban was influenced to choose this metaphor by some motif in early Celtic art; but the ultimate source is the story of the poet Arion, who was carried to land on a dolphin's back, and the poem to

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Fidolius shows that Columban was familiar at first hand with a large tract of classical mythology.

5. dodrantem i.e. "surge of the sea" (the gloss "Dodrans .i. malina" is quoted by F.J.H.Jenkinson in the Introduction to his edition of the Hisperica Famina, p.xv). The word is used by Columba at verse 9 of the Altus Prosator (Blume, Analecta Hymnica LI p.276 - "oceani dodrantibus"), and it is common, both in singular and plural, in the Hisperica Famina.

7. nobilior et clarior est The passage seems almost an echo of Chrysostom Hom. 32 in Rom. sect. 2 (P.G. 60,678). 'Εγὼ καὶ τὴν Ῥώμην διὰ τοῦτο φιλῶ...ὅτι καὶ ζῶν αὐτοῖς [Ῥωμαίοις] ἔγραφε [Παῦλος] καὶ οὕτως αὐτοὺς ἐφίλει, καὶ παρὼν αὐτοῖς διελέχθη καὶ τὸν βίον ἐκεῖ κατέλυσε. Διὸ καὶ ἐκίστημι ἢ πόλιν ἐντεῦθεν μᾶλλον, ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων. Καὶ καθάπερ σῶμα μέγα καὶ ἰσχυρὸν ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔχει δύο λάμποντας, τῶν ἁγίων τούτων [Παύλου καὶ Πέτρου] τὰ σώματα.

8. caelos The Fathers commonly (Origen, trans. Rufinus, Hom. in Gen. I,13 -- P.G.12,156 C; Augustine de Cons.Evang. I,30 -- P.L. 34,1064 etc.) interpret this passage from Psalm 18 as referring to the Apostles.

12. caelestes estis cf. Origen, trans. Rufinus, Hom. in Gen. I,13 (P.G. 12,156 C) "perfecti quique coelestes facti vel coeli effecti enarrant gloriam Dei."

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13. caput...ecclesiarum cf. p.45,1-2 above "Europae Ecclesiarum Capiti"; however, the exception here made in favour of Jerusalem shows that Columban intends to refer not so much to jurisdiction, as to the precedence of honour (cf. honor in line 15).

18. Tam diu enim potestas etc. These words undoubtedly imply that a Pope would ipso facto be deposed for heresy (cf. p.58,17-20 above).

Page 62, line 5. ab omnibus...recepta This statement is noteworthy, as the writer had personal knowledge of several of the great Churches of Western Europe; he indicates that they all shared in his view of the Papacy as a limited and constitutional monarchy.

10. noveritis i.e. "you ought to know".

12. hoc i.e. "nescio quid superciliosum" etc. (8 foll.).

13. unitas fidei etc. Though there is no exact parallel of language, the thought here is close to many passages in Cyprian's De Unitate Ecclesiae; Columban means that, just as the Faith, though shared by many, remains one and undivided, so the Church's authority is vested equally in all her officers, provided that they remain united in the Faith.

16. confessio recta Peter's confession at Caesarea Philippi (Matt. 16,16), being the reason for the authority entrusted to him, must be maintained by his successors, if they expect to

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enjoy a like authority; the attitude of the Papacy to the Three Chapters has led Columban to fear (cf. p.58,5) that it may not have preserved the "true confession" of faith in the Person of Christ.

18. liceat i.e. "you ought to permit".

20. matris cf. Cyprian De Unit. Eccl. 6 (P.L. 4,503 A)

"Habere iam non potest Deum patrem qui Ecclesiam non habet matrem."

Page 63, line 1. Rebecca The reference is to Genesis 25,22

"Collidebantur in utero eius parvuli."

4. Lacrimis...verbis The phrase is repeated in Instr. XI (p.148,6), and appears to have been favoured by Columban.

8. neotericam The word simply means "recent", and it conveys no suggestion of unorthodoxy.

8. scripturam The writings of the Fathers, especially in respect of the doctrine of the Incarnation as defined by the first four General Councils.

9. sacramenta i.e. "mysteries".

12. tunicam...unitas cf. Cyprian De Unit. Eccl. 7 (P.L. 4,505 A); and Aug. Tract. in Ioann. 13,13 (P.L.35,1499)

"Desuper texta tunica (i.e. Christ's seamless robe, John 19,23) quid significat nisi unitatem?"

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16. convenite in unum Again Columban feels himself to be addressing the Church at large, and not only the Pope and his advisers; but it must be remembered that the initiative in convening a Council would have to come from Rome, and therefore it is to the Papacy that his message is still primarily directed.

16-7. antiquis litibus The Christological heresies of the fourth and fifth centuries, which had been re-opened by the present schism.

18-9. dubia...manifesta i.e. what cannot or can be settled by an appeal to Scripture (cf. line 9 above) and human reason; Columban refuses to accept the mere promulgation of new doctrine as authoritative.

Page 64, line 6 foll. Non enim ego etc. These words are remarkably ingenuous, yet true.

8-9. orthodoxus...glorificat The dependent clause strongly suggests that Columban knew enough Greek to understand the original meaning of orthodoxus, and its derivation from ὀρθή δόξα.

13. substantias The word, properly the equivalent of οὐσία, is here used to translate φύσις (natura); it was the error of Eutyches to "confound the natures" of Christ.

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15. foll. Christus enim etc. The phraseology is reminiscent of the Tome of Leo and the Creed of Chalcedon; but the words iunior matre (line 18) seem to be new.

19-20. natus...trinitate A very similar passage occurs in the Antiphonary of Bangor (ed. Warren, fol. 5 verso) "Natus ut homo / mortali in tegmine / non deest caelo / manens in trinitate."

Page 65, line 1. quinta synodo The ninth anathema of the second Council of Constantinople (Hefele-Leclercq III 1 p.120) reads "Εἰ τις προσκυνεῖσθαι ἐν δυοῖ φύσεσιν λέγει τὸν Χριστόν ἔξ ὧ δύο προσκυνήσεις εἰσάχονταί, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω. Columban refuses to accept this.

1. quidam This is probable the Agrippinus of p.48,18.

5. unitate personae In this insistence on Christ's "personal unity", Columban comes very close to Eutychianism; but he has already safe-guarded himself by his previous discussion of the two natures.

7 foll. quia etc. i.e. because Christ neither put off His divinity at the Incarnation, nor His humanity at the Ascension.

12. cuiuscumque ordinis etc. i.e. even a Pope (cf. p.8,15).

13. hominem honorare This was ultimately the error both of the Lombard Arians, and of the Nestorians; the Three Chapters had been condemned because of the support which they appeared to give to the latter.

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Page 66, line 1. azyma cum amaritudine Just as the Passover was eaten with unleavened bread and bitter herbs (Ex. 12,8), so the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth (I Cor. 5,8) is sometimes bitter (Rev. 10,9) to him who must receive and proclaim it.

3. germanitatem i.e. "sincerity".

6 foll. Idcirco quamvis etc. The general sense of the passage is clear enough -- although Columban's venomous opponents are moved to attack what does not please them, yet the request of the Lombard king provides him with a remarkable opportunity; but the detailed restoration of the text, which will be discussed in the following notes, is almost difficult enough to justify Metzler's despairing comment, "locus corruptus, cui mederi nequeo". Translate "Thus, although the triple-tongued scorpion with bent blow rise up in those of whom it is written, They bent their tongue like a bow of falsehood, who judge everything however new to be thread-bare, obviously making themselves out to be rich in overweening measure, and who, licking their lips like zealots, always oppose the deceits of a jealous recalcitrance to whatever writings do not please them; but yet when..."

7. arcuato vulnere scorpius The phrase is taken from Jerome's treatise adv. Vigilant. 8 (P.L.23,347 B-C) "Scribit adversum haeresim tuam...Tertullianus, vir eruditissimus, insigne volumen,

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quod Scorpiacum vocat rectissimo nomine, quia arcuato vulnere in Ecclesiae corpus venena diffundit..."

9. nova quaeque licet i.e. "anything new, even though it is new"; in particular, any fresh contribution, such as Columban is trying to make, to the solution of doctrinal problems.

10. epicroca The word is specially used of garments that have been worn so thin as to become transparent; cf. Plaut. Pers. 96 "Nilist macrum illud epicrocum pellucidum" (of an old cloak).

10. copes The Index Verborum to M.G.H. Epist. III suggests that this is the equivalent of λόγος ("loquacious"); but the meaning "opulentus", given by Varro (Ling. 5,92) is much more appropriate here, for Columban imagines his critics, out of their pretended wealth, affecting to despise his own arguments as thread-bare.

11-2. oliginosis zelotes palearibus literally "zealots with damp dewlaps"; Columban pictures his opponents salivating in their eagerness for the attack. Fleming's variants "celotes" and "celetes", whether they are intended to mean "race-horses" or "racing boats", seem to be entirely out of place.

12. non lepidis The "unpleasing" nature of Columban's writings could arise not only from their contents, but also from an alleged lack of literary style; he feels it necessary to apologize for the latter both in Epist. I (p.11,17) and in the poem to Sethus (line 3).

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14. pellacias This noun is formed from "pellax" ("deceitful"); there is no need for Gundlach's emendation, "peltas", which denotes a type of shield.

14. gentilis lit. "pagan" i.e. not a member of the Church; king Agilulf was in fact an Arian heretic.

15. scribere...rogat The construction is poetical and post-Augustan.

16. unda torrentis antiqui i.e. the invading flood of Arian heresy, by which the Lombards, Slavs and Goths had been infected.

Page 67, line 3. digressus on p.65,18.

5. naevum lit. "wart" i.e. disfigurement (see note on p.4,13).

7. levitatis The word refers to the vacillating attitude shown by Vigilius to the question of the Three Chapters.

8. soliditate "wholeness, integrity" (Greek *ολότης*).

12. squaminae The word, usually translated "fish-scale", means "fish" in Juv. IV,25; here it refers to Leviathan as a type of Satan.

12-3. corium...portare Columban's ideas of ship-building seem to have been derived from the coracles of his native land, and he probably means that Leviathan's hide would be more than large enough to cover the hulls of all the ships in the world; alternatively, he may be thinking of Job 40,25, and may mean

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that the carcass of Leviathan would be too big a cargo for all the merchant-vessels to carry.

Page 68, line 2. futuros Some of the elect will remain on earth until the final consummation.

5-6. periculosioribus...etiam The word-order is peculiar; translate "even more dangerous than the rest (which were) before."

6. retro lit. "backwards" i.e. "in comparison with former times"; there is a somewhat similar use in Tert. Apol. 18 "Hebraei retro, qui nunc Iudaei".

12-3. Ionae...Peristerae...Columbae It is unlikely that Columban knew more Greek or Hebrew than what might be derived from a study of the glossaries; his interest in proper names as an indication of character (cf. p. 51,2 above) makes him display what knowledge he possesses here.

13-4. potius...nuncupato i.e. his real name is the Latin one; in his prose Epistles, he always prefers the shorter form "Columba" (see on p.13,3).

16. naufragium The writer refers to his rejection by the French Church, and subsequent exile, which did in fact nearly culminate in a literal ship-wreck (cf. Intro. Chapter II, section 3 sub fin.).

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18. cenodoxia The word is used by Cassian in his list of principal vices (Inst. V,1 P.L.49,202 C) "Octo principalia vitia...septimum cenodoxia"; but Columban replaces it by "vana gloria" in the corresponding passage of his own De octo vitiis principalibus (p.223,3 below), although it had already been acclimatized in Irish Latin, and is used by Columba (Altus Prosator, 3 "auctoris cenodoxiae").

18. quidam This probably again refers to Agrippinus (p.48,18).

Page 69, line 1. Nestorii It is remarkable, and it shows how little technical theological knowledge was possessed by Columban and his correspondents in North Italy, that Nestorianism should, of all heresies, have been charged against those who supported Vigilius' condemnation of the Three Chapters, for it was precisely because of their Nestorian tendencies that these writings had been condemned; but it must be added that here Columban immediately professes his disbelief in the accusation.

7. responsum variavi In his anxiety to do justice to both parties, Columban has certainly varied the tone of his letter, now admitting the possibility of Papal heresy (iuxta epistolam sc. of Agrippinus, line 4), and now protesting his own "good estimation" (line 5) of the Papacy. Thus, while trying to be fair, Columban has in places become inconsistent,

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and his letter has actually furnished arguments to the later controversialists on either side.

8. concertandum i.e. "for discussion"; though admitting that he may have fallen into error, Columban wishes to have the question settled by argument and not by authority.

11. Agilulfi Gundlach is certainly correct in replacing a corrupt manuscript contraction by this name; the Lombard king had asked Columban (cf. p.55,15) to help in healing the schism amongst the Catholics, as a preparation for his own admission to the Catholic Church.

14. cladem The support previously given by the Lombard sovereigns to Arianism had been a serious disaster for the Church.

19. scandalum i.e. the continuance of schism.

Page 70, line 2. patriae pax In 593, and again in 603 (cf.

Paulus, Hist. Langob. IV,29), the Lombards had attacked and threatened Rome; Columban hopes that the ensuing political peace may be an augury of ecclesiastical reunion.

4. Rex Regem i.e. just as the Pope must follow Peter, and the Church the Pope, so the king of Lombardy must follow the King of kings; Rex refers to Agilulf, Regem to Christ (cf. line 15 below). The manuscript reading, "Rex regum", would make Columban describe Boniface as "king of kings", which is surely impossible.

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6. fratrum refers to the Catholics, separated by schism.
7. pater refers to the Pope, who would be restored to his authority by their reunion; or else to God, Who has been banished by the discord of His sons.
8. matri refers to the waiting and grieving (p.62,20 foll.) Church.
9. aevum saeculorum for the more usual "saecula saeculorum", and with the same meaning.
10. tripudium i.e. a dance, especially a religious one (cf. Columba, Altus Prosator 22, Blume Analecta Hymnica LI p.278, "Tripudiis sanctis"); the "dance of eternity" simply means the joy of heaven.
11. papa et fratres i.e. the Pope and clergy of Rome.
13. sanctorum cineres see on p.30,4.
16. cum cruore sequentes According to the ancient tradition, Peter and Paul sealed their faith by martyrdom at Rome. For the expression, cf. p.37,8-10 above "haec est enim veritas evangelii, ut veri Christi crucifixi discipuli eum sequantur cum cruce."

EPISTULA VI.

Possibly written from Milan to Pope Boniface IV in the year 613, and in answer to a reply which the Pope had made to Epistle V.

A literal observance of the requirements of the Jewish Law now abrogated by Christ's Incarnation -- The typical nature of the Passover, and the difficulty of determining the true Paschal date -- The Sabbath -- The offering of first-fruits -- The festivals of Trumpets, of Atonement and of Tabernacles -- The mystical significance of the sacrificial animals -- The danger which the Church suffers from schismatic Judaizers -- The Pope's prayers requested.

Page 71, line 1. The superscription of the letter has been lost, together with the names of author and recipient, and all that can certainly be said is that it was written to some pope (cf. p.82,8); the arguments for ascribing it to Columban, in spite of the weight of modern critical opinion, will be found in Intro. Chapter III, section 2.

3. imperio cogente It appears that Boniface had replied not unkindly (tuae caritatis) to Columban's fifth Epistle, mentioning in the course of his answer the old accusation that the Irish, by observing Easter on the fourteenth if that were a Sunday, were guilty of a Judaizing legalism, and asking

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Columban to elucidate his attitude to the observance of the Jewish Law.

5. amatoribus litterae These are the true legalists, from whom Columban is careful at the outset to dissociate himself; by their adherence to the letter of Scripture, they have become the enemies of its spiritual truth (veritatis in line 6).

9-10. radicis...poma The antithesis is an old one; cf. Jerome Epist. 107,1 "...ut radicis amaritudinem dulcedo fructuum compensaret," and see Otto, Sprichwörter p.195 for further examples. Columban means that the literalists are content with the outer integument of Scripture, instead of seeking its spiritual fruit; and, in a similar way, they admire dry gold dust rather than the finished products of craftsmanship.

15. hirci...emissarii The picture is taken from Lev. 16, where the "scape-goat" is appointed to be sent into the wilderness (verse 22, cf. eremum in line 17 below) by the hand of a fit person, who must afterwards wash his garments (verse 26, cf. lavemus...vestimenta in line 18); but the writer's recollection is confused, for he takes his description of the animal being carried on the shoulder from the treatment of the second goat, which was killed as a sin-offering, and then carried outside the camp (Lev. 16,27). Columban means that by dealing patiently with the Judaizers, he will at least be able to remove them from the Church's fold, even if he cannot, as he had hoped in line 8, bring them to a knowledge of the truth.

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17. eremum This word is omitted in the Paris MS, which Krusch used for his edition of the letter in Neues Archiv X pp.84 foll. He was obliged to note a lacuna in the text, which is happily filled by the other MSS.

19. sensus i.e. "attitude, opinion" as on p.32,19.

Page 72, line 2. de scripturis Thus Columban will refute the "amatores litterae" with their own arguments.

4. umbra The literal observance, being a mere shadow, must be superseded by the spiritual reality in Christ.

6. imbecillitatis nostrae Columban regularly uses some such humble circumlocution in referring to himself; cf. "meam... insipientiam" (p.19,2), "meae loquacitati" (p.26,15), "nostrae parvitatis" (p.97,8-9).

8. provido...providentes Such verbal jingles are a characteristic feature of Columban's style; cf. especially p.88,9 "fulcris firmissimis...firmata."

8. harum sc. "feriarum" (line 3).

9. tempore sc. "futuram"; for a similar loose construction, cf. p.68,6 "ceteris ante (diebus)".

12. non mandasse There is no need to postulate a lacuna here, as Krusch suggests; the meaning is that, as is shown by certain texts from the Prophets, God now no longer ordains the literal observance of ceremonies, which certain other texts declare Him to have instituted for the time of the old legal dispensation.

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Page 73, line 13. scenophegiam The word is feminine, as here, in Sed. Scot. Carm. II,33,8 (M.G.H. Poet. Lat. Aevi Carol. III p.199) though Hilary of Poitiers (Tract. in Ps. 136, cap.7 -- P.L. 9,780B) and others use it as a neuter plural; see V.Ussani in Rendiconti della Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche, series 6, IX (1933) pp.342-6. DuCange strangely refers to the "ars scenofactoria"; in fact, the word denotes the feast of Tabernacles.

Page 74, line 1. praecipitur Strict grammar would require the Subjunctive, but Columban is often careless in his use of the moods; cf. p.62,6-8 "nemo qui nesciat, qualiter salvator... Petro...contulit claves".

2. anniculus The alternative reading, "agniculus", appears to have been corrupted by the proximity of the word "agnus".

7. verum Pascha The true, or Christian, Passover is in Columban's eyes not merely a memorial of the Resurrection, but of the Passion as a whole, and it is particularly closely connected with the immolation (cf. immolari in line 10) of the Lamb of God.

11-2. passionis tempora As the writer believed (cf. p. 75,14-5) that Christ had not actually been crucified until the fifteenth, these words must denote the entire period of the Passion, beginning on the fourteenth with the Last Supper.

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12. commisit i.e. "permisit"; this sense of the word is classical, but very rare (see the Thesaurus for examples), and the Vatican manuscript has here replaced the rarer by the more common word.

12. contra figuram First, He was not arrested (tentus in line 15) on the day when the Paschal lamb was set apart; second, He gave the Sacrament of His Body and Blood to the disciples in sua vita (line 16) and not, as was done with the Passover, post suam occisionem (line 20). These departures from the typical ordinances of the Jewish Law prove that they have in part been altered by Divine intention.

20. intraneis The word is usually an adjective, and the dictionaries give no examples of its use (as here) as a noun; "intestinis", the reading of the British Museum MS, is almost certainly a scribe's correction.

Page 75, lines 3-4. Pascha...manducasset Columban believed (though it is probable that he was wrong in his belief; cf. Dix, The Shape of the Liturgy p.50) that the Last Supper was a Passover meal, at which the typical sacrifice preceded the reality by one day; Christ thus declared, first the ending of literal sacrifice, and second the institution of a new spiritual (spiritualiter in line 9) sacrament.

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9. hoc corpore...spiritualiter Though he has little to say on the doctrine of the Mass, Columban certainly believed in the Real Presence (cf. Paen. B 30, p.220, 7-8 below); that doctrine is not really contradicted here, for the run of the words shows that the emphasis is to be placed on hoc corpore, the sacramental Body providing spiritual nourishment for the soul, and the presence of Christ's Body in the sacrament being assured by His bodily presence at the Last Supper.

14-5. decima quinta die Columban's belief that the Last Supper was a Passover meal implies that it took place on the evening of the fourteenth; he is therefore obliged to date the Crucifixion to the following, or fifteenth, day. He seems to have deduced from this that the Christian Passover ought, if the days of the week permitted, to follow one day after the Jewish, and thus he may have been led to accept the current Roman Paschal terms of XV - XXI. These ideas are suggested, though not very precisely, in the following sentences.

18. comedere The penultimate syllable may be either short or long, and Gundlach comments "sc. comedere fecit Dominus, aut comedere apostoli"; in either case, the meaning is the same, but the latter interpretation is perhaps suggested by a comparison with Jerome in Matt. (P.L. 26,195) "Postquam typicum Pascha fuerit impletum, et agni carnes cum apostolis comederat...."

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Page 76, lines 1-2. veritas...praecedat Gundlach (in Neues Archiv XV p.500 note 1) thought that he detected a parallel to this in the closing words of Epist. I (p.12,13) "semper antiquior est veritas, quae illum (sc. errorem) reprehendit"; but, as Seebass pointed out (in Neues Archiv XVII p.257) the antithesis in the first Epistle is between truth and error, and not, as here, between type and reality. A closer parallel, in thought if not in precise words, would be a passage in Instr. VI (p.122,5) "de umbra imaginatae vitae ad veritatem verae vitae." Columban employs a similar idea in his letter to Segienus (Ussher, Works IV pp.436-7) "Pascha occiditur, veritas vivificatur. Pars autem diei festi, XIV luna, non totus dies, in qua seducimur, sed in parte et sabbato otioso et neomenia buccinata; quae sunt umbra, non corpus Christi. Umbra occiditur, veritas vivificatur."

7. diffiniunt i.e. "pronounce, enjoin"; the persons in question are the Quartodecimans, who insisted on observing Easter invariably on the fourteenth day, whereas the Irish custom had been to observe it on that date only if it fell on a Sunday.

8. umbralis The adjective is not used elsewhere, but the adverb ("umbraliter") appears in Augustine.

9-10. post decimam quartam diem Columban has now come to see that the Irish custom is contrary to Christ's intention, and that the Jewish Passover must precede the Christian by at

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least one day, in order to preserve the temporal priority of type to reality. In this somewhat obscure sentence, he is feeling his way towards accepting the Roman, or Dionysian, cycle, which he definitely adopts in the tract De Saltu Lunae; in earlier letters on the Paschal question, he had gradually been approaching such a concession, which must have been forced on him at Milan by his efforts to heal the schism amongst the Catholics.

11. praecedente una sabbatorum "Sabbatum", as elsewhere throughout this letter, must mean, not any day of the week, but Saturday, the Jewish Sabbath; with una supply "die". The meaning is that "one of the Saturdays" (sc. of the first month) must precede the Paschal festival, i.e. Easter must always fall upon a Sunday. The other condition is that it must follow the Jewish Passover on the fourteenth; but if the fourteenth were itself a Saturday, the implication would be that Easter should be celebrated on the fifteenth, the earliest date permitted by the Dionysian cycle. The writer does not say that a Saturday must intervene between the fourteenth and the celebration of Easter, as he would have had to do had he been a supporter of the Victorian cycle, for the lunar terms admitted by that cycle were the sixteenth to the twenty-second.

11-2. sine ulla ambiguitate This phrase is perhaps an echo from the Preface of Victorius to his Canon Paschale (ed.

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Bucherius p.4) "Cuius luna decima quarta si feria sexta provenierit, sequens dominica, id est luna XVI, festivitati paschali sine ambiguo deputetur...Nec minus eiusdem Dominicae resurrectionis peragendo mysterio destinarunt quam XVI...eligentes potius...quam Dominicam passionem ante lunam XIV ullatenus inchoari..."

12-3. varietas ecclesiae At the time, France used the Victorian cycle, Rome the Dionysian, and the majority of the Irish the old cycle of 84 years; but even in Ireland some diversity had developed, according to the Catalogue of the Saints (Haddan and Stubbs, Councils &c. II ii p.293) -- "Tertius ordo (599-665 A.D.)...habebant...diversam solemnitatem Paschalem. Alii enim Resurrectionem XIV Luna vel XVI cum duris intentionibus celebrabant."

13. alii This first party are the French, who had left Columban with the impression that their one concern was to avoid observing Easter on the fourteenth ("Cum Iudaeis facere Pascha non debemus" pp.5,15 and 6,1).

15. alii autem This second party are those who, in obedience to the authority of Rome (p.77,2), have accepted the Dionysian cycle; they refuse to observe Easter before the fourteenth, and as the fourteenth itself is already ruled out, they find the fifteenth to be the earliest permissible date.

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16. immolationem veri agni Krusch (in Neues Archiv X, p.88) rightly says that this means "verum Pascha" i.e. the Christian Easter (see note on p.74,7 above). Those who imagine that the writer of this letter supported the Victorian cycle, are obliged to interpret the phrase as referring to Good Friday (which, if it could not be celebrated prior to the fourteenth, would imply the sixteenth as the earliest Easter date); but this is impossible, for the following reasons -- (1) the discussion has centred entirely on the date of Easter, and there is no warrant for the gratuitous introduction of another festival; (2) the writer believed (cf. p.75,14) that the crucifixion actually took place on the fifteenth, and if he here desired to preserve an exact chronology of the separate events of the Passion, he would be obliged to treat the fifteenth as the earliest possible date for Good Friday, and consequently to forbid any celebration of Easter prior to the seventeenth; (3) the frequent repetition of the text "Pascha nostrum immolatus est Christus" has made it inevitable that the "immolatio" should be identified, in the minds both of writer and of reader, with "Pascha nostrum"; (4) to suggest Dominical sanction (cf. lines 19-20 below) for the Victorian lunar terms would contradict what is implied by lines 9-12 above (see the note on line 11). The sentence is admittedly obscure, and is probably the result of confused thinking by a mind which had

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not yet come to a definite decision; but so far as it goes, it tends to support the Dionysian, and not the Victorian, cycle.

20. minime contempsit Christ fulfilled the legal requirements by waiting until the fourteenth before he ate the Passover with His disciples (cf. p.75,3-4).

Page 77, line 2. auctoritatem sedis apostolicae In the year 525, Rome changed from the Victorian to the Dionysian cycle; it has been necessary to labour the point that it is the latter which the present passage has in view, for on the solution of this question the identification of the author of the letter very largely depends.

4. discuti sc. "haec"; the present occasion is not suitable for these points to be discussed in detail, for the writer is concerned, not with determining the true Paschal date, but with expounding the mystical significance of the Jewish Law.

5. quibus The antecedent is "nos".

10. quaterno numero The Gospel is "fourfold" because written by the four Evangelists; together with the ten commandments, it makes up the number fourteen, and the mystical meaning of this is that the Law must be completed by the Gospel in order to reach spiritual perfection.

11. in vespere mundi Just as the Paschal lamb was killed at evening, so Christ died in the twilight of the world; cf. Pseudo-Jerome Brev. in Ps. 34,13 (P.L. 26,926 B) "in vespera mundi oblatus est" (Christus).

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16. senarium Isidore (Etymolog. III,4,2) gives the same interpretation -- "Senarius namque (numerus), qui partibus suis perfectus est, perfectionem mundi quadam numeri sui significatione declarat."

18. In sabbato etc. The following passage would come readily to the pen of an Irishman, for the Irish "Law of Sunday" was particularly strict; the surviving Law of that name dates in fact from the ninth century (cf. Ryan, Irish Monasticism p.349 note 7), but the principle of Sabbatarianism was at all times strong in ancient Ireland (cf. Plummer, Vitae SS. Hib. I p.cxxiii).

Page 78, line 4. mereamur The words which follow in I,Ri,X and Y seem to be made up out of (a) a gloss on contumacibus denegata in line 3, and (b) a title for para. 4 below.

9. perfectionis The number six is treated as symbolizing perfection in external works ("perfectio operum" p.77,16); for perfection in the spiritual sphere, we must turn to other numbers -- seven and five -- which are required in the calculation of the seven weeks or fifty days preceding Pentecost, and whose significance will be explained in the sequel.

12. quinquagenarium, qui remissionem...continet Isidore (Etymolog. XVII,9,38) notes the connection of the number five with purification in pagan rites -- "Pentaphyllon a numero

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foliorum dicta; unde et eam Latini quinquifolium vocant; herba adeo munda ut purificationi et templis adhiberi a gentibus solita esset." Lines 15-6 below connect its power with the five senses and the ten commandments, that is to say, with the legal remission of carnal sins.

13. septiformi...gratia The sevenfold gifts of the Spirit denote the fruit of the Gospel, by which (see on p.77,10) the legal remission requires to be completed; they are also the characteristic marks of the Christian Church, as opposed to the Chosen People, and denote, amongst other things, its universality (cf. Isidore Etymolog. VI,17,17 "...ipsum numerum septenarium, quo universitatis significatio saepe figuratur; qui etiam ipsi Ecclesiae tribuitur propter instar universitatis...")

16. quae The antecedent is legi (line 15).

Page 79, line 4. fermentatos Leaven is, of course, a symbol of iniquity (cf. I Cor. 5,8); our firstfruits, though tainted with worldliness, are yet acceptable to God in Christ, Who "eats" (i.e. accepts) the offering.

7. opera i.e. good works are the Christian firstfruits.

7-8. fermento...fermentata Another example of Columban's love of verbal jingles (see on p.72,8 above).

9. manu operationis "by the hand of His working" i.e. by the agency of grace; "orationis", the alternative reading, would

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imply that Christ's prayer presents them before the heavenly throne, and would ultimately give the same meaning; but the picture is obviously taken from the priest's "waving" of the first-fruits "before the Lord" (Lev. 23,20), and the reading in the text is therefore to be preferred.

15. Tubarum see Lev. 23,24.

16. Expiationum see Lev. 23,27.

18. Tabernaculorum see Lev. 23,34.

20. trinae...sacramento These three Old Testament feasts make up a "sacrament of three-fold prayer", of which the Gospel reality is now revealed as preaching (Trumpets), faith (Tabernacles, as a symbol of pilgrimage through this transitory world) and the redeeming blood of Christ (Expiation).

Page 80, line 4. discere non cessemus Although the dispensation of the Law is now over, we can still learn from its symbolical interpretation.

4-5. novis...fructibus i.e. first-fruits, which for the Christian consist in "good works".

7. octavae beatitudinis cf. p.14,20 foll. above -- "Beatitudo octava martyrio terminatur". The Irish taught that this felicity might be attained by the discipline of mortification, which is reckoned as a lesser martyrdom (see note on p.179,2 below); and the use of the same idea here provides a strong

argument for Columban's authorship of the present letter.

10. lege e.g. in Lev. 16,29.

12. scientiae i.e. the knowledge of God revealed in Christ; cf. Instr. I (p.91,12) "trinitatis scientia". The Gospel is as it were the "new moon", by which the light of this knowledge has been shed.

13. praedicare aliis The duty of preaching is also inculcated by Columban in Epist. V (p.51,15).

18. hostiae in apposition to veri pontificis; Christ is both Priest and Victim.

20. vitulum The sacrificial animals are given fanciful symbolic meanings in the following passage; these are sometimes derived from the works of previous commentators, but are mostly drawn from the author's own fertile brain. The calf, as the strongest animal mentioned, is a fitting symbol for "work"; but it is probable that a precise reference is intended to Hosea 14,3 ("reddemus vitulos labiorum nostrorum") -- a text which is taken up and explained in Hebr. 13,15 -- for the praise of God is the primary task of a monk; and if so, the words labor noster indicate that a monk is very probably the author of the present passage.

Page 81, line 1. ovem The sheep is a familiar symbol of the Christian, especially in his simplicity (cf. Matt.10,16).

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1. hircum In the pagan authors, the goat is a type of lust (voluptatis); in the Bible, the scape-goat provides a remedy for sin (mortificatio -- cf. Lev. 16,7 foll.).
2. capram Macrobius (Sat. I,17,63) notes this animal's love of high pastures "caprae...consuetudo haec in pastu videtur, ut semper altum pascendo petat"; the same character is attributed to the stag by the author of the Pseudo-Hieronymic Brev. in Pss. 28,9 (P.L. 26,902 B) "Cervi, praedicatores... ad altiora fugiunt; id est, ad theoricam vitam." The "high pastures" of the "theoretic life" refer, of course, to the life of contemplation; cf. Greg. Magn. Expos. super Cant. Prooem. 9 (P.L. 79, 476 D) and Cassian Conl. XIV, I (P.L. 49,955 A).
3. arietem The rams, besides being responsible for the increase of the flock, act as its leaders and teachers; cf. Cassiod. in Ps. 28,1 (P.L. 70, 198 B) "arietes apostoli accipiendi sunt, qui tamquam duces gregum in caulas Domini perduxerunt populum Christianum."
5. turturem According to Tertullian (Monog. 8 -- P.L.2,940 B) the dove is monogamous, and it is therefore a fitting symbol for the relation of the devout soul to Christ.
6. columbam Although it is familiar as a representation of the Holy Spirit, and particularly of the gift of the Spirit in Baptism (cf. Mark I,10), I can find no other passage in which

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the dove is connected with a clearer understanding of the Sacraments; and I am therefore inclined to think that here, as on p.68,12 foll., Columban is playing with a sort of pun upon the meaning of his own name. The purpose of the present letter is to make the typological significance of the Sacraments more clearly understood, and it is at least possible that the author has derived his interpretation of the dove from this his present purpose; in which case, a further argument is furnished for ascribing the authorship of this letter to Columban.

7. panem The word is sometimes (e.g. Stat. Silv. IV, 9, 37) used to denote any mass properly mixed and bound together; the particular parallel between material bread and the precepts of God is brought out in the account of Christ's Temptation (Matt. 4,4 cf. Deut.8,3) -- "Non in solo pane vivit homo, sed in omni verbo quod procedit de ore Dei." soliditas denotes both firmness and wholeness (cf. p.67,8)

8. similam The finest of wheat flour is a natural symbol for purity of life; in Lev. 2,2 etc. it represents the normal and regular offering of devotion, and in Matt. 3,12 Christ's judgement is pictured as a winnowing of the wheat from the chaff amongst mankind.

9. vinum et sal Wine is a means of inspiration, salt a pledge of hospitality and friendship; together, they imply that

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sharing in the inspired Word which is effected through preaching, and this is both sweet and soothing (like wine) with comfortable words for the contrite, and astringent yet preservative (like salt) with reproof and exhortation for the wayward. These various meanings are frequently brought out in the Synoptic parables and in the Johannine discourses.

9. oleum To anoint with oil is a token of affection and esteem (cf. Ps. 44,8 etc. and especially the anointing of Christ, Matt. 26,6 foll.); the use of oil in sacrifice (Lev. 2,1 etc.) is similarly a token of glad and devoted love.

12. iubet Deut. 12,5-6.

13. schismatis If, as I believe, Columban wrote this letter shortly after Epistle V, his mind would naturally still be concerned with the tragic effects of the "error of schism" in Lombardy.

15. byssos The Index Verborum to M.G.H. Epp. III explains the word as "charta in qua scribitur"; but this is an impossible meaning here, for the author complains that his production is a "brief note" (scribicunculam) of few words (pauca), and the adjective multa (agreeing with byssos) would then be entirely out of keeping with the translation suggested above. Rather should the word be taken as an alternative form of "abyssos" (as in Herod. III,23 $\chiωρῆσιν ἐς βυσσόν$), which is actually read by the Cologne and related manuscripts, doubtless as the result of emendation; as in his choice of

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vocabulary in Epist. I (cf. "chilosum" on p.7,19 etc.), so here Columban shows his love for rarities derived from Greek, and he means that the subject possesses depths which his short letter has not fathomed.

16. scribiciunculam The Irish love of diminutives has been remarked upon already (p.50,4); this one is found nowhere else.

16. diviti pauper etc. This passage is so similar to the opening Epist V (p.45,4 foll.) that both must almost certainly have been written by the same hand.

19-20. plus valet...ingenii After the friendly reply of Boniface (cf. p.71,3 above), it seems that Columban has allowed his suspicions to be quelled by his affection for the Papacy; he makes a somewhat similar observation in Instr. I (p.93,3-4), which may well have been composed about the same time as the present letter -- "plus scit pietas tacens quam impia loquacitas."

Page 82, line 1. eos These are the "amatores litterae" (p.71,5), to dissociate himself from whom Columban has written the present letter; small groups of Judaizing Christians continued to maintain a feeble existence in Palestine up till the invasion of Islam, but it is difficult to believe that such persons ever threatened a serious schism in the Western Church after the first century.

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7. otium During his residence at Milan, Columban had little leisure, for his time was principally devoted to attempting the conversion of the Arians and to healing the schism amongst the Catholics.

8. ora pro me At the conclusion of each of his letters, Columban requests his correspondent's prayers; cf. p.12,6 p.26,4 p.30,4 p.44,3 and p.70,11.

EPISTULA VII.

Written to a young disciple, probably at some time between the years 640 and 645.

The moral use of literary studies -- Detailed instructions in the spiritual warfare -- The rewards of a Christian character.

Page 83, line 2. dixerim A deposit of Columban's oral teaching to his monks is contained in the provisions of the *Regulae*, and it is to this that he most probably refers.

3-4. cui pauca...proderunt This maxim is quoted again in Instr. I and III (pp.89,14-5 and 108,8-9), which describe it respectively as being "iuxta scripturam" and "quid sapiens dixit"; and a similar phrase occurs in Reg. Mon. cap. VIII (p.175, 18-9). No Biblical text provides an exact parallel, though Prov. 15,16, 16,8 and 30,8-9 all teach the virtue of moderation in terms which the present passage may be intended to recall; it is also possible that the writer has in mind the gift of manna to the Israelites, of which "nec qui plus collegerat habuit amplius, nec qui minus paraverat reperit minus" (Exod. 16,18), for "colligebant...mane singuli quantum sufficere poterat" (ib. 21).

5. quidam Verg. Aen. IV,298 "Omnia tuta timens".

10-11. delectationes litterarum This passage provides a moral justification for the Irish classical and literary education, of which Columban himself was so brilliant a product, and by

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xx means of which he was able, as in the poems to Hunaldus and to Sethus, to cast his own ethical teaching into an agreeable poetical form; and it largely destroys the force of that antithesis by which Roger (L'Enseignement des Lettres Classiques p.415) attempts to distinguish edification from education -- "Saint Colomban enseigna la discipline, non la grammaire; il luttait contre le relâchement des mœurs et la tiédeur religieuse, non contre l'ignorance."

11-2. suas...bello Another example is here furnished of that interlaced word-order which is so characteristic a feature of Columban's epistolary style (cf. p.1,1 etc.) de means "arising out of".

15. infimusque This is surely the correct reading, though it is preserved only by M; a strict disciplinarian such as Columban was, would not urge his follower to be "weak" ("infirmus"), though he might advise him to seek a lowly place.

17. mordax...alienis Again M has preserved the true text; supply "moribus", and translate "punctilious in your own duties, gentle in exacting those of others."

18. callidus in insidiis i.e. "skilful in (resisting) the wiles" (of the devil).

Page 84, line 1. discors in necessariis, aequalis in veris

The phrases are probably intended to mean "stubborn in

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eluding the grip of fate, impartial in pursuit of truth"; but the sense of the words is severely strained in order to preserve the structure of the clauses.

8 foll. amabilis probis etc. Translate "friendly to the upright, rough to the dishonourable, gentle to the weak, firm to the stubborn, correct to the proud, humble to the lowly." squalidus is very seldom applied to persons, except in reference to the mourning garments usually worn by the accused at his trial.

15. constans in fragoribus i.e. "unmoved in turmoil". This, and other references in the letter to "discords" and "strife", suggest that it was written after the tribulations of Columban's exile in 610.

Page 85, line 1. nolus opum i.e. "not desirous of wealth";

nolus, if it is the correct reading, is a word so rare that the dictionaries do not list it, but the alternative, -- M's "nudus", looks very like an emendation.

1. animi depressor i.e. "a leveller of pride".

2. cogitationum sc. "tuorum"; the disciple is to reveal all his thoughts to the "seniores" (cf. Reg. Mon. cap. IX).

8. pro fine cf. p.38,10-11 above "In fine enim iudicium consistit et in exitu laus canitur."

10. ministerque Domoal and Chagnoald (Jonas I,9 and 28) successively filled the position of Columban's "minister" or

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private secretary; if, as seems probable, this letter was written near the close of his life, it was perhaps directed to the latter.

12. idem eris This is the Stoic ideal; cf. Seneca, Ep. 66,6 "Asperis blandisque pariter invictus, neutri se fortunae submittens, supra omnia quae contingunt acciduntque eminens."

13. gestus i.e. rhetorical gestures, by moderating which the disciple will learn to control his emotions.

15. deasperata I have ventured to introduce this emendation, in order to give point to the clause; the word is not elsewhere found, but may easily be formed on the analogy of "dealbo", "deargento" etc.

19. sequacitatem i.e. "the disposition to follow"; the word belongs to the vocabulary of late Latin.

Page 86, line 9. congregabis sc. "ea", as antecedent to "quibus"; the disciple will gather for himself those fruits of a fine character, which he is to enjoy throughout eternity.

10. unius...animi A passing reference to the parable of the single eye (Matt. 6,22).

11. quaesitor This most probably refers to the merchant seeking pearls (Matt. 13,45).

15. pereant The meaning is that those good qualities, which force an entry into the Kingdom, will perish if put to a bad use.

INSTRUCTIO I.

It seems probable that this Sermon, together with the series which follows, was preached during Columban's residence at Milan in 613-4.

The doctrine of the Holy Trinity -- The omnipresence and infinity of God -- The inscrutability of the Divine Essence -- A natural revelation provided in created things -- The necessity for faith and for a pure heart.

Page 87, line 1. Instructionis...curam gerens The words suggest that the speaker has undertaken some special course of instruction; and the references in the sequel to "heretics" (p.88,14 and 17) and to "errors" (p.89,10) on the doctrine of the Trinity, make it appear very probable that the "necessity" (necessariae) for this special course was occasioned by the large numbers of Arians amongst the Lombards of North Italy. Jonas (I,30) records that Columban wrote a treatise against the Arian heresy while at the court of Agilulf, and on another occasion (I,5) he describes the effect of Columban's preaching in the following words:- "Erat enim gratum hominibus, ut quod facundiae cultus adornabat, elucubratae praedicationis doctrina, simul et exempla virtutum confirmabant..." For the regular use of preaching in Columban's monasteries, cf. Reg. Coen. (longer version) cap. IX (p.196,5 foll. below), and Paen. B 29 (p.219,16 foll.).

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8. confessionis defines salutem; Christianorum depends on ora in the following line.
12. Credat itaque primum etc. The language of this section recalls phrases from the Quicumque vult.
13. primum...novissimum These are to be taken as adjectives qualifying Deum; cf. Apoc. 1,17 "ego sum primus et novissimus."
14. substantia i.e. οὐσία; subsistentia i.e. ὑπόστασις.

Page 88, line 8. duarum legum The Old and New Testaments.

9. fulcris firmissimis fides...firmata See on p.72,8.
- 10-11. unitatem...unitate The phrase, drawn from the Quicumque vult, appears also in Epist. III (p.28,17).
- 14-6. Deus...est It is almost certain that this clause is intended as an answer to the Arians, for it was precisely their heresy to "divide and separate" the Persons of the Trinity, and to say of Christ the He had not "always been".
19. hoc...quod est i.e. "unus".
20. pluraliter A grammarian's term, meaning "in the plural number".

Page 89, line 5. coeternitate Another attack upon the Arians who maintained of Christ ἦν ὅτε οὐκ ἦν.

15. iuxta Scripturam The maxim quoted is not a Biblical text; see on p.83, 3-4.

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19-20. est...repleat The change from Indicative to Subjunctive in these two clauses, both Indirect Questions, is without significance; for Columban's irregular use of the moods, cf. p.74,1.

Page 90, line 8. si meremur This, the reading of the two Turin manuscripts, is undoubtedly correct (cf. lines 9-10); there seem to have been several blots or erasures in the text which Metzler copied, for he reads "sumere" here, and "qua" for "quasi" in line 15 below.

18. altissimum To be taken as a noun; translates "God's very great profundity".

19. universitatis The word here bears its usual meaning of "the universe".

20 foll. implentem etc. These paradoxes, drawn from the Divine immanence and transcendence, illustrate a doctrine which can best be described by the modern name of "panentheism"; see Intro. Chapter III, section 8.

Page 91, line 5. fuit The Perfect here has the sense of the gnomic Aorist in Greek.

11. ante i.e. "antea", as in line 16 below.

16. pelagus For the metaphor, cf. Cassian, Conl. Praef. (P.L. 49,479 B) "In quibus mihi...immensum pelagus aperitur..." and Epist. III (p.27,12 above) "maris...intelligibilis."

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16. visibile i.e. the actual ocean, as opposed to the metaphorical sea of Divine Knowledge.

18. tanto plus...minora The double comparative is cumbersome, but the sense is clear; translate "by so much the more (he knows his ignorance) let him understand that he can know less (than he does about the ocean)..."

20. de creatore...tractare This usage belongs to late Latin; the classical construction, with the accusative, occurs on p.90,19-20 above.

Page 92, line 1. idoneus i.e. "proficient"; the Dictionaries do not give any examples of the use of "in" and the ablative with this adjective.

7. quibus est vae i.e. "for whom is woe."

8. volare Like Icarus; Columban's poems show him to have been familiar with classical mythology.

9. creaturae in apposition to the genitive implied in suum; translate "their creaturely mouth."

10. ratione...collecta Either, "having not first gathered their wits" (cf. the common phrase "animum colligere"); or -- which, in view of the context, is probably the better sense -- "having not first counted the reckoning (cost)".

17. Altum sc. "est".

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20. ascematus i.e. "diminutus"; the word is listed by DuCange alone. Metzler seems to have omitted what he could not understand, but his "naturam" suggests an original "natura n̄" (i.e. "non"), and this emendation I have ventured to introduce; God "is not diminished (in His substance) by the natural creation, for He made it out of nothing."

Page 93, line 3. pietas tacens cf. Reg. Mon. cap. II (p.163, 15 foll.) "Silentii regula diligenter custodienda" etc.

6. inconspicabilem This word, which occurs in Hilary and Rufinus (see Soutar s.v.) is strangely omitted by Forcellini and the smaller Dictionaries; it appears again p.129,1.

12. plus bene "bene" is regarded as almost forming a part of "intellegere", and hence the comparative is not "melius"; for the idea, compare Aug. Sermo 43,6,7, (P.L.38,257) "Tu dicebas, Intelligam ut credam; ego dicebam, Ut intelligas, crede..."

20. ubi deget i.e. in her accustomed place; as Christ says of Himself in Apoc. 3,20.

Page 94, lines 7-8. caritas...cadere This version of the text is used also by Cassian, Conl. VIII,25 (P.L. 49,770 A)

"...charitas, quae cadere nescit..."

11-2. Deum...nosse i.e. "to know God as He is."

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14. pulsandus The word is used in this sense by Seneca (Herc. Oet. 1671) "Superosque et ipsum vocibus pulsans Iovem"; the idea is that of Matt. 11,12 "Regnum caelorum vim patitur, et violenti rapiunt illud."

INSTRUCTIO II.

Scripture the only sure source of theological knowledge --
 The vanity of human reason -- A quotation from Faustus on the
 culture of the soul -- Exhortation to self-discipline and per-
 severance in the spiritual warfare.

Page 96, line 1. emenso The Sermon that has been traversed, or
 measured out, i.e. the previous one; the two are closely con-
 nected in thought and language.

3. pulsata See note on p.94,14.

4. sit The significance of the Subjunctive (if any; cf.
 p.89,19-20) is very tenuous; translate "is rather a subject
 for meditation than that it should be proclaimed aloud."

5-6. Lex...Apostoli These four classes cover the entire range
 of Scripture; for Columban's deference to the sole norm of
 Scripture, see p.47,16.

10. Spiritu cuique This reading, which I have restored by an
 easy emendation to the text of the Turin manuscripts, seems
 to have been paraphrased by Metzler with his "alias in
 spiritu".

13. mundi...ratione "reasoning about the world" i.e. natural
 philosophy.

17. quod vivunt non sapiunt i.e. "do not understand what
 (human) life is."

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Page 97, line 1, ad tractationis modum i.e. "to the standard required for (scientific) discussion."

2. definitionis...finem i.e. "as far as a finished definition."

4. manifesta...placita i.e. "a topic (culture of the spiritual life, as the sequel shows) which is intelligible in itself, and pleasing to the ineffable God."

8-9. nostrae parvitat The same circumlocution is used in Epist. III (p.28,5) and there are many similar examples in Columban's other works.

11. Fausti Comgall, the teacher (cf. line 15 below) of Columban, was known by this Latin name, according to the ninth-century Martyrology of Notker (Canisius, Thesaurus Monument. Eccl. et Hist. II iii p.141) under June 9th. But the author of the sermon, from which the following quotation is taken, is identified as Faustus of Riez by Engelbrecht (Studien über die Schriften des Bischofs von Reii Faustus pp.77 foll.) and by Seebass (Zeitschr. für Kirchengesch. XIII pp.520 foll.); and there are alleged to be other reminiscences from the same Faustus later in the present series, for example at p.134,4 foll. Not being convinced by these arguments, I prefer to believe that Comgall is the teacher intended here, and I have discussed the subject at length in Intro. chap. III section 3. See also on line 18 below.

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12. initiandum opus This is one of the phrases that indicate how closely the present series of sermons is bound together into a work with a single major theme.

18. foll. Si ruris cultor etc. The sermon, from which this passage is an almost verbatim quotation, is printed under the name of Eucherius of Lyons in P.L. 50,850 C-D; but it seems to have formed part of the standard stock of sermon illustrations, and it is based ultimately on Cassian, Conl. I,2 and 4 (C.S.E.L. XIII pp.8-10; P.L. 49,483 B foll. and 485 B foll.) --

"Nam et agricola nunc torridos solis radios, nunc pruinas et glaciem non declinans, terram infatigabiliter scindit, et indomitas agri glaebras frequenti subigit vomere, dum scopon servat, ut eam cunctis sentibus expurgatam, universisque graminibus absolutam in modum solubilis harenae exercendo comminuat...Habet ergo et nostra professio scopon proprium ac finem suum...Nam, ut dixi, agricola finem habens secure copioseque vivendi in proventu segetum fecundarum, scopon, id est, destinationem gerit, agrum suum cunctis sentibus expurgare, eumque universis infructuosis vacuare graminibus, nec aliter se quieti finis opulentiam adepturum esse confidit, nisi id quod usu obtinere desiderat, quadam prius operis ac spei suae ratione possideat...Itaque et viae nostrae finis quidem est regnum Dei..." It is possible that Jonas preserves a reminiscence of the present passage in his

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description (I,17) of the farm work at Fontaines -- "...repperitque fratres sexaginta sarculo terram excolere et semini futuro confectam glebis arvam parare. Cumque vidisset magno labore glebas scindere..."

Page 98, line 6, vacuum The construction with the genitive after this word is rare, and mostly poetical.

14. vitia eradicare etc. This passage has several verbal similarities with the Penitential of Finnian -- a work known to Columban, and extensively used in his own Penitential -- especially section 29 (Wasserschleben, Bussordnungen p.114) "Vitia mundanus de corde nostro et virtutes insinuamus pro illis, et patientia pro iracundia, mansuetudo...pro invidia, pro detractatione continentia cordis et linguae, pro tristitia gaudium spiritale, pro cupiditate largitas nasci debet..."

Page 99, lines 4 foll. Quid ergo prodest etc. For the sentiment, compare Reg. Mon. VI (p.167,15-6) "Et quid prodest si virgo corpore sit, si non sit virgo mente?"

11. corporis...cordis cf. Epist. IV (p.34,8-9) "Quid enim prodest habere corpus et non habere cor?"

18. flexibilitate "suppleness of body" i.e. frequent prostrations.

20. religionibus, "religious observances" (cf. Cic. Mil. 27,73 "religiones expiandas" etc.)

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Page 100, line 1. nutibus...religio i.e. "a religion decorated with prostrations of the body."

4. famulo i.e. the body.

5. domino i.e. the soul.

8. foll. Mundemus etc. See on p.98,14 above.

15. quasi similia i.e. as if there were no distinction between virtues and vices.

Page 101, line 11. nobis...emendatur The participial clause is placed in the ablative case, because the preacher first separates himself from, and then identifies himself with, his audience.

15. vertuntur in vulnera There is a verbal parallel in Caesar. Arelat. Sermo 196,I (ed. Morin I p.750) "si scripturas divinas aut ipsi non legimus aut legentes alios non libenter audimus, ipsa nobis medicamenta convertuntur in vulnera."

Page 102, line 3. possidere a This is properly a legal term, meaning "to hold" a property "of" someone.

3. septem gentibus These are the former occupants of the land of Palestine, enumerated in Deut. 7,1; they are explained as a symbol for the armies of the devil by Cassian Conl. V,16 (P.L. 49,632 C foll.).

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7-8. in primo certamine Presumably because he has not yet mastered the rules; cf. lines 9-10 below.

12. eodem...armis This refers to the monastic profession of both preacher and audience.

INSTRUCTIO III.

The necessity for understanding the transitory nature of this life -- A daily mortification required, in order to conquer human blindness.

Page 103, lines 3-4. pietas...est As in Reg. Mon. cap. VIII

(p.172,14), there seems here to be a hint from Aristotle (Eth. Nic. II); pietas and aequitas are dispositions (ἔξεις) of the soul, formed by, and also expressing themselves in, pious and just acts.

5. studio cf. Epist. IV (p.40,6) "Gradiendum igitur est via regia...per studium nostrum"; the word signifies a school of character, as well as of intellectual training. Studendum picks up the conclusion of the preceding sermon (p.102,9), and links this closely to it.

7. eventilans The word literally means "to scatter by winnowing", and so metaphorically "to disperse"; cf. Sid. Apoll. Epist. I,9 "opes eventilatas."

9. ad unum The unity of eternal Being is the proper object of the intellect.

9-10. Mundus enim transibit cf. De Mundi Transitu 1-2 "Mundus iste transibit, Cottidie decrescit..." The words are most appropriate in the present context, and certainly authentic; and the fact that they are omitted by both the Vatican and the

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Paris manuscripts tends to undermine the authority which the former, by its age, would otherwise command.

17. sonoram Again, the true reading is preserved by the Turin manuscripts and Metzler's transcript, for the variant "onerosam" (in R and D) is the careless error of an ignorant scribe. The "dead phantom" of the world is "dumb" in its inanimate part, "vocal" in the animate creation.
19. offendit sc. "mundus"; the world "offends" by concealing its real nature.

Page 104, lines 7-8. sensum...purum Translate "keep his disposition pure."

12. conamine A man's own efforts may merit the assistance of Divine grace, without which none can save himself; this mild form of semi-Pelagian doctrine is popular with the monastic writers from Cassian onwards (cf. p.38, 20 foll. above), and Columban may have been charged with it in France (see note on p.13,6-7).

14. sensum The "disposition" which can be made "pure" by the action of grace, and by the performance of good works.

16. paeniteat...paenituerit The meaning is that he should never have need to repent (in the present), or have failed to repent (his past offences); cf. Paen. A I (p.208,2-3)

"Paenitentia vera est paenitenda non admittere sed admissa deflare."

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16. sera see note on p.109,11.

19. quod...facit That which is thus productive of universal charity can be nothing less than God, as the sequel makes clear.

Page 105, lines 2 foll. aeterno etc. This list of attributes is taken largely from Instr. I, and it shows the unity of thought and language pervading the whole series of sermons.

5. hic i.e. in this transitory material world.

11-3. et...subducunt Translate "and smilingly beguile you -- hateful as it is -- and thus steal away the things that are justly lovable, as though they did not exist."

16. bene egerit The words are equivalent to a single verb, qualified by caute.

20. quasi qualifies conculcare and not nostris.

Page 106, line 7. ista paucos tenet i.e. the life of self-mortification retains few in its service.

7. vivere sc. "est"; for the thought, cf. I Cor. 15,31.

9-10. brevissima aetate i.e. "most brief period"; the manuscript variants have arisen from a wrong division of the words.

13. huius...dubius i.e. if he is doubtful of, shrinks from this death-in-life.

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- Page 107, line 2. impossibilia...videri This is a very rare construction, replacing the more usual "impossibile est videre ea", and it is perhaps copied from the Greek.
10. quo compediris The passions and desires of the flesh.
11. quo solveris The needful assistance of God's grace.
15. miseria ! Qui i.e. (eius) qui... cf. 109,8.
- 19-20. iugulandum...decollandum Strangling and decapitation had been the two standard forms of execution for Roman citizens.

- Page 108, line 5. incompungibilis i.e. "impenetrable", especially to the stings of conscience (cf. the use of "compungi" in ecclesiastical Latin); the word is not elsewhere found.
8. sapiens The author of this maxim has not been identified; see on p.83,3-4.
12. sic refers to the forms of mortification described below; again, the merit of good works is assumed (cf. p.104,12).
13. ne parcas cibo "have no mercy on your diet"; cf. Reg. Mon. cap. III.
13. vestimento cf. Reg. Mon. cap. IV.
17. unicam tuam The reading is confirmed by Ps. 21,21 "Erue a framea, Deus, animam meam, et de manu canis uncam meam" (cf. Ps.34,17); the Vatican manuscript, with its variant "tunicam", has again introduced an ignorant scribal error.

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18. Ne parcas expresses prohibition; ne...perdas, consequence.
 "Have no mercy on transitory things, lest you (thereby) lose what is eternal". caducis is a favourite word of Columban's;
 cf. ad Hunald. 5, ad Seth. 15 and 62.

Page 109, line 8. Qui i.e. (miseria eius) qui.

9. huius vitae depends on vana, as well as on corruptionem and interitum.
 11. sera paenitentia cf. Phaedr. 1,13,2 "Sera dat poenas turpes poenitentia".
 12. hoc (i.e. "mortem") sc. "time".
 13. illud (i.e. "ignem") sc. "time" again.

INSTRUCTIO IV.

The pains of discipline, even in secular arts -- The certainty of heavenly reward for spiritual proficiency -- Exhortation to patience, and to hope in Christ.

Page 110, line 4. hic i.e. on earth.

5. maximae The meaning appears to be that our stupidity and weakness are greater in this life than they will be in the next.
7. temporalia...genera Columban, who had once been head of the monastic school at Bangor (cf. Vita S. Galli auct. Wettino cap. I), was familiar with the labours involved in education.
11. comparat i.e. "prepares"; merore is the ablative of price.
17. discentes i.e. "discipuli"; this use of participle in place of noun is very rare, and it is employed here for the sake of variety.
19. sapientiae amatores i.e. "philosophi"; the phrase is borrowed from Cic. Tim. 14,51.

Page 111, line 1. gubernacula i.e. "offices of government"; the word in this sense is normally qualified by "rei publicae" or "imperii".

13. non aspernanter i.e. "without disdain".

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Page 112, lines 2-3. quanto tempore The phrase is used, by a laxity of grammar, in place of "quantum tempus"; for the sense, compare "quam longe" in lines 8-9 below.

5. dupliciter dubii Translate "though doubtful (of the issue) in a double way"; i.e. whether they will learn their art to perfection, and whether, having learnt it, they will be able to enjoy it long.

13. peregrinationes from one teacher to another; a secular parallel to the monastic "peregrinatio pro Christo".

18. mirabitur This is the passive of the ante-classical form, "miro", which here reappears in Latin; Metzler, failing to understand the voice, has erased the word.

19. magistratio i.e. "technical ability"; militia i.e. "professional employment".

20. impossibile This emendation is required by the sense; in the manuscripts, the prefix "ī-" has been omitted through confusion with the final "i" of acquiri.

Page 113, line 1. adipisci passive, as commonly in silver Latin.

5. iniuriatus This participle appears in the passive voice, as here, only in later Latin.

6. putas i.e. "reckon on, expect".

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Page 114, line 2. negotiatores Perhaps a reference to the parable of the merchant seeking pearls (Matt. 13,45); cf. p.86,12 above.

5. dux i.e. Christ.

13. eorum i.e. the world, the devil and his followers.

Page 115, line 1. utrorumque i.e. tribulation and sin.

1. liberalis The word denotes the joy appropriate to a free-man of God, and not that of a slave to sin.

8. perseveremus i.e. keep a perpetual Thanksgiving.

11. destituamur "let us not be robbed" sc. of our reward in Heaven.

INSTRUCTIO V.

The brevity and deceitfulness of life -- To be treated as a roadway, not a home.

Page 116, lines 1 foll. O tu vita etc. The opening of this sermon is modelled on that of the Pseudo-Augustinian Sermo 49 ad Fratres in Eremito (P.L. 40,1332) -- a passage which, like that quoted on p.97,18 foll. above, seems to have belonged to the common stock of sermon material -- "O vita quae tantos decipis, de propriis tantos seduxisti, tantos excaecasti; quae dum fugis, nihil es, dum videris, umbra es, dum exaltas, fumus es. Dulcis es stultis et amara sapientibus. Qui te amat, non te cognoscit; qui te contemnunt, ipsi te intelligunt. Timenda es, et fugienda es. Vae qui tibi credunt, beati qui te contemnunt. Vera non es vita, quam te ostendis. Aliis ostendis te longam, ut perdas in finem; aliis brevem, ut dum poenitere volunt, non permittas; aliis largam, ut faciant quid volunt; aliis angustam, ut non faciant bonum. Quare, O sapiens, fuge quod fugit..." The quotation of the passage here, in a fairly free version, gives no indication of the authorship of the present sermon.

4. fumus The picture is of a rising cloud of smoke, which in its transitoriness forms a fitting symbol of deceitful loftiness of life.

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6. diissimilis...ortu Although the outcome (heaven or hell) may be different, the origin of life is the same for all; cf. De Mundi Transitu 5-6 "Totum humanum genus Ortu utitur pari," and also Instr. IX (p.132,14 foll.).

10. te reducis i.e. "withdraw"; the metaphor is probably a military one.

11. Quid ergo...Via cf. Greg. Magn. Homil. in Evang. I,1 (P.L. 76, 1079 D) "Quid est vita mortalis nisi via ?..." The idea is frequent in Columban's writings; cf. pp.22,15, 40,7, 94,19 and 128,10.

14. interrupisset This life would be the true Life, if sin had not cut it short by bringing death into the world.

Page 117, line 3. seductrix The word is not elsewhere used as an adjective except on p.135,16 below; for the sentiment, cf. De Mundi Transitu 25-8 "Lubricum quod labitur Conantur colligere, Et hoc quod se seducit Minus timent credere."

12. lubrica See the previous note.

20. quod restat i.e. the eventual outcome of our pilgrimage; cf. p.38,10-11 "In fine enim iudicium consistit et in exitu laus canitur."

Page 118, lines 4-5. versatur...paratur Internal rhymes occur in a number of Columban's hexameter verses, and rhyming jingles

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such as the present are a feature also of his homiletic style; cf. p.109,10-11 ("patientia...paenitentia") etc.

6. securi cf. p.54,14-5 "Omnium enim malorum causa est caeca prosperitatis securitas."

8. ut The adjectives "desides, liberi (libidi)" prefixed here by Metzler and the Turin manuscripts seem to be no more than glosses on securi.

11. perusi i.e. "used up"; the word is not listed in the dictionaries.

11. de here has the rare sense of "at the price of."

INSTRUCTIO VI.

Mortal life compared to a shadow -- Exhortation so to live that the true life may take root and daily grow.

Page 119, line 4. viatici...paupertate i.e. the poverty which possesses no more than travelling money; cf. Reg. Mon. cap.IV (p.165,16-7), where the monks are enjoined that "parvo extremae necessitatis censu in terris debent esse contenti."

7. diximus p.116,4.

9-10. res umbrae aequetur i.e. such reality as life possesses is only the equivalent of a shade.

10. ipsa nec ipsa This is the object of vides; "things that are and are not themselves".

11. dicamus i.e. "let us put the case thus".

15. speculo cf. I Cor. 13,12 "Videmus nunc per speculum in aenigmate."

19. Quid enim etc. Translate "What is the difference between yesterday's waking life and last night's dreams?"

Page 120, line 14. ibi i.e. beyond death, where alone the true life will be found.

18. agit i.e. "dwells"; this sense of the word is frequent in Tacitus, and occurs in Sallust.

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19. ut facis Translate "as is your custom".

Page 121, line 15. negotiatores cf. p.114,2.

16. fluentem i.e. "lubricam" (p.117,12).

Page 122, line 9. circuli The remaining cycles of life.

10. sua i.e. "saecularia".

INSTRUCTIO VII.

The insatiable evil of the human will - Punishment appointed for those who obey its domination.

Page 123, lines 2-3. accepta...reddis The human will devours concessions, and offers no return.

4. censum i.e. an income commensurate to its appetites.

5. pertusata DuGange gives one late example of "pertusare" used as the equivalent of "pertundere"; "pertusus" is proverbially applied to a leaking pitcher which it is impossible to fill (Plaut. Ps. I,3,135 etc.), and this seems to be the meaning here.

6. immitis...ieiuna Translate "cruel when sated, fawning when hungry."

15. natura This is probably to be taken as an ablative; Columban means that humanity is "by nature" unclean, i.e. its very nature has been vitiated by original sin. The word appears in the ablative case again in lines 16 and 17 below.

Page 124, line 3. et te The main clause begins here, et having the sense of "also".

4-5. sterquilinium ("dung-heap")...volutabrum ("swines' wallowing-place") These words are in apposition to te; the former is used as a term of reproach in Plautus (e.g. Pers. 3,3,3).

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6. fistulata The medical writers denote by "fistula" a sort of tubular ulcer.

14. nostra immunditia i.e. "because of our uncleanness."

17. lumentis (lomentis) "washings"; in Paen. B 27 (p.219,6) the word denotes a bath.

20. praesentem...futuram sc. "voluntatem"; obedience to the promptings of our corrupt will in the past neither satisfies it for the present nor forestalls its future claims.

Page 125, line 7. domestica i.e. within the self.

11. haec...alia As soon as the first demands are met, others follow; one weakness makes future resistance the more difficult.

16. necessaria Even the evil will's first demands have the compulsion of necessity, for nature is corrupted by original sin; cf. lines 20 foll. below.

19. avare i.e. "like a miser" who weighs out each concession with sparing reluctance.

Page 126, line 1. exactores The word, which refers primarily to "tax-gatherers", is a fitting description of the will and passions with their exorbitant demands.

3. Unum dicam etc. For the sentiment, cf. De Mundi Transitu 73-6 "Nam quoscumque videris Ridere inaniter, Scito in novissimis Quod flebunt amariter."

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20. pascamur ad esuriem etc. i.e. "lest our feasting (in this world) may result in hunger (in the next)."

Page 127, line 2. unum e duobus We must inevitably experience hunger and want in one of the "duo saecula" (p.126,9-10).

4. necessaria, non suavia i.e. what is necessary to maintain life, not what ministers to sensual pleasure; in Reg. Mon. cap. IV (p.165,16-7), the monks are enjoined to be content with "parvo extremae necessitatis censu."

INSTRUCTIO VIII.

The end of life's journey -- Partial concealment of the Divine Nature -- The heavenly country always to be kept in view.

Page 128, line 1 foll. Ecce nunc etc. These words link the present to the preceding sermons, in which human life was pictured under the similitude of a roadway; at the same time, they open up a new section of the series, which treats of the conclusion of the road.

2. diximus in Instr. V.

3. umbrae similitudine cf. Instr. VI.

5. ante diximus in Instr. VII.

7. viatorum cf. p.117,18-9 "viatorum more...festinandum."

11. sursum amemus cf. De Mundi Transitu 89-92 "De terrenis eleva Tui cordis oculos; Ama amantissimos Angelorum populos..."

13. ibi sc. "patria est".

15. virtute...deitatis This doctrine of a natural revelation in the creatures is derived from Rom. 1,20 "Invisibilia enim ipsius a creatura mundi, per ea quae facta sunt, intellecta conspiciuntur; sempiterna quoque eius virtus et divinitas..."

16. profundior The sea is a favourite image for the profundity of the Divine Nature; cf. p.91,15-6 above "profundissimum divinae cognitionis pelagus."

19. domestici The retinue of a royal court.

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20. caeli primi The "first heaven" is the spiritual region, separated from earth by the visible sky, or firmament (Gen. I,6) which divides the upper and lower waters; thus the former ("aquis elevatis" p.129,5) may be taken as the ultimate dividing line. Origen (Hom. I in Gen. -- P.G. 12, 147 A-B) interprets the passage in Genesis allegorically, of mind, or soul, and body; "Fecit enim coelum prius, de quo dicit, Coelum mihi sedes est. Post illud autem firmamentum facit, id est corporeum coelum... et hoc est quod dividit inter aquam quae est super coelum, et aquam quae est sub coelo...Et ideo illud quidem primum coelum, quod spiritale diximus, mens nostra est..."

Page 129, line 2. infirmior sc. than that of the angels.

4. cognitionis suae i.e. "knowledge of Himself"; cf. "divinae cognitionis" (p.91,15-6).

5. supernis virtutibus the "Higher Powers", the upper classes in the hierarchy of creation; cf. Luc. 21,26 "virtutes caelorum movebuntur."

8. nequaquam...patienda To see God's glory unveiled would bring death to the lower orders of creation; cf. Exod. 33,20.

12-3. quis...est cf. p.94,12 "Quis est et quantus est sibi soli notus est."

13. Pulsemus sc. "oratione"; see on p.94,14.

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14. pro merito puritatis...adest The idea is that of Matt.5,8

"Beati mundo corde, quoniam ipsi Deum videbunt."

16. vel hinc vel illuc "either from this side or towards that" sc. of the dividing-line which separates us from the invisible world.

Page 130, line 11. saeculi itinerantes i.e. "mundi viatores"

(line 9 above).

13. de ea peribunt proleptic; they will be cast out "of it" and "perish".

Page 131, line 1. formis "ideas", in the Platonic sense.

15-6. Regem...regentem Columban's love of excessive alliteration is tiresome; cf. p.88,9 and p.151,19.

INSTRUCTIO IX.

Variety of rewards and punishments -- The misery of an evil life, and the certainty of future judgement.

Page 132, line 5. animo remordente i.e. "with the stings of conscience."

12. volubilitate refers especially to the mutability of the wheel of fortune.

13. fugacitate This word, not listed in the dictionaries, is found in the glossaries (C.G.L. II,473,39).

20. foll. similis miseriae...qua The judgement will be "alike (in its universality) to the misery, by which..."; cf. "hic sors similis premit" (line 15 above).

Page 133, lines 4-5. de...terram "from the earth (of which man is made), on the earth (during life), into the earth (at burial)."

17. suspecta...mente "diffidently"; this use of "mente" with an adjective in agreement is equivalent, in later Latin, to an adverb, and from it the adverbial terminations (-ment, -mente etc.) of the Romance languages are derived.

Page 134, lines 4 foll. quia non dixit etc. A parallel to this passage has been found in the eighth sermon of Faustus of Reii (P.L. 58,888 A) "Diligenter, quaeso, attendite, fratres

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carissimi, et mecum pariter expavescite; quia non dicit quod reddet unicuique secundum misericordiam suam, sed secundum opera sua. Hic enim est misericors; ibi iustus."

11. Quis enim potest etc. In spite of his addiction to a mild form of semi-Pelagianism (cf. p.104,12), Columban here again admits that grace is indispensable to sinful man.

18. Ut quid i.e. "to what end...?"

Page 135, lines 2-3. quadam arte The skill of the refiner.

5. paracaraximo Properly an adjective, meaning "counterfeit" (cf. Cass. Conl. I,21 -- P.L. 49,518 B -- "paracharagmo scilicet illusus numismate"), the word here has the force of a noun.

6. desperabilium i.e. "incurable"; cf. Ier. 15,18 (of a wound).

9. vitam ancipitem Human life, like Janus, faces both ways, with tendencies both to good and evil.

11. rationem agentes For daily confession, cf. Reg. Coen. I (p.184, 13 foll.).

19. habitura i.e. "inhabit."

INSTRUCTIO X.

Exhortation to penitence in view of the terror of the final judgement -- and to a voluntary mortification of the passions -- True life achieved by dying to the self in Christ.

Page 137, line 2. superioribus The texts quoted on p.133 above.

6. lapideum In the metaphorical sense, the word occurs in Plautus (Truc. 4,3,44).

8. per se in the Gospel.

15. alius Actually, the writer of both texts is the same (Malachi); but it must be remembered that Columban would probably make his quotations from memory.

18. Isaias This passage is conflated with another taken from Zephaniah, and these mistaken ascriptions indicate the strong possibility that a faulty memory may have introduced inaccuracies into the text of the quotations made, not only here, but also throughout Columban's writings.

Page 138, 7. Asaph to whom the authorship of Ps. 49 is attributed.

14. heri et hodie These words indicate that the whole series of sermons was most probably preached as a connected course, on successive days.

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Page 139, line 1. vita i.e. (merely) physical life.

5. mortificatio was accounted a form of martyrdom amongst the Irish; see on p.179,2 below.

17. vita i.e. Christ, Who is the true Life.

20. vox i.e. the text just quoted from St Paul.

Page 140, line 4. quomodo...illo Translate "how common sense remains alive in him" (sc. St Paul).

8. mortalis i.e. "doomed to (eternal) death."

13-4. quod...servaverit i.e. eternal life (lost by corrupted human nature through the Fall), or "beatitudo", as it is called in the following line.

14. arbitrii electionem Columban expresses his belief in free-will elsewhere (p.40,14) in the words "non nescias...libertatem in medio arbitrii."

15. Inde "for this reason"; i.e. because free-will remains to us.

Page 141, line 5. qui i.e. "eius qui".

5-6. sibi homo contrarius The soul's internal struggle is a common theme of Celtic art, being sometimes (e.g. at Iona) pictured under the similitude of two stags fighting, with Christ as peace-maker (cf. pacare) in the midst; and it is just possible that Columban may have had some such carving in mind, when he wrote the present words.

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8. coronemur cf. Epist. IV (p.40, 20) "si tollis pugnam, tollis et coronam"; and Jerome, Epist. 22,3 (P.L. 22,395) "Stadium est haec vita mortalibus, hic contendimus, ut alibi coronemur."

11. nulius...aciem A somewhat similar passage occurs in the fifth sermon of the series falsely attributed to Eucherius of Lyons (P.L. 50,846 A) "Quis in acie positus, ante finem certaminis, aut ante victoriae securitatem arma deponat ? Nemo ergo securum debere esse se iudicet, antequam ad finem felici consummatione perveniat."

14. omnium victor i.e. because you are your own worst enemy.

20. enim etc. The meaning is that even the martyr must beware the sin of avarice; for true martyrdom implies that he should take no thought of the reward.

Page 142, line 11. Contra se...veniat cf. Epist. I (p.8,12)

"contra sancti Hieronymi auctoritatem veniens."

13. loquamur ut libet cf. Reg. Mon. cap. IX (p.179,12) "non lingua libita loqui."

14. Nihil itaque liberum cf. Reg. Mon. cap. IX (p.178,6 foll.) "cavenda ubique est monachis superba libertas ac vera humilitas discenda..."

18. communes i.e. "courteous".

Page 143, lines 2-3. caelum humiliatur "heaven is brought low" i.e. near.

INSTRUCTIO XI.

The dignity of man's original creation -- Exhortation to keep the divine image undefiled; and to cultivate the love of God.

Page 144, title. The title, "De disciplina", found in the Vatican and Paris manuscripts, shows the connection with what precedes; the present sermon is to unfold one aspect of the "discipline" of mortification.

4. invisibilis etc. These attributes of God are repeated from Instr. I and III, and, like a refrain, they serve to bind the whole series together.

8-9. imaginem...similitudinem Several of the Fathers, following Irenaeus (Contra Haer. V,6,1), distinguish "imago" as the physical characteristics from "similitudo" as the moral attributes; that distinction holds good here.

13. beneficium naturae i.e. "natural endowment".

18. reddere For the sentiment, cf. Aug. De Doctr. Christ. I,22 (P.L. 34,27) "...ut omnes cogitationes tuas et omnem vitam et omnem intellectum in illum conferas, a quo habes ea ipsa quae confers."

Page 145, lines 1-2. dilectio...renovatio Another of Columban's favourite rhyming jingles; he means that love makes us like

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to what we love, cf. Cass. Conl. XI,9 (P.L.49,855 B) "Quod charitas non solum de servis filios faciat, sed etiam imaginem Dei ac similitudinem ferat..."

14. alienae i.e. foreign to the purpose of our Creator.

14. tyrannicae i.e. "devilish"; Satan is the tyrant, Christ the King. Columban means that our character is a sort of canvas, which each man paints by the actions of his life; the ultimate source of the metaphor is a famous passage in the fourteenth chapter of the De Incarnatione of Athanasius (P.G. 25,120 C).

17. detegitur by comparison with the reality of truth.

17. umbrata cf. Instr. VI (p.119,7 foll.) "Non tibi videtur umbra esse et imago vita hominis super terram..?"

18 foll. Divisa est etc. There is a close parallel in Reg. Mon. cap.VIII (p.173,5 foll.) "Divisa namque sunt ab initio sicut lux et tenebrae utraque, id est bona et mala..." Good and evil are so utterly distinct that the false image can at once be distinguished from the true.

Page 146, line 12. Nullum non The reading "Nullum enim" gives precisely the opposite sense to that required; Metzler seems to have felt this, for he reads "Multum enim", but I prefer the easier change of "enim" to "non", which preserves the parallel of "nullum...nulli". Columban means that flattery and scorn

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are equally harmful to their object, and thus that it is intensely difficult to avoid hurting one's brother.

20. necessaria quaeque i.e. "all that is necessary (and no more)"; cf. Reg. Mon. cap. II (p.163,18-9) "exceptis utilitatibus ac necessariis opus est ut taceatur."

Page 147, line 2. otiosa passim verba The words are repeated in the longer recension of the Regula Coenobialis (p.207,9, where they follow the phrase "dilacerationem absentium"), and they have most probably been copied there from the present passage by a compiler who knew it as Columban's own; thus, although Columban did not himself write the longer form of that Regula, the parallel provides some evidence that this sermon was recognized as his work at a very early date.

7. quam multis cf. Jac. 3,2 "In multis enim offendimus omnes."

13. diurnis "daily" i.e. continued from day to day.

Page 148, line 6. Lacrimis...est The phrase is repeated, with a slight change in the order of the words, from Epist. V (p.63,4).

11. medicale i.e. "healing"; the word, which does not occur elsewhere, is listed by DuCange and Baxter (Mediaeval Latin Word-list) alone.

14. et...sit Translate "and (love is) of such a nature as to be dear to God."

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18. studio i.e. "zealous practice"; Columban frequently uses the word in this sense, cf. Epist. IV (p.40,9) "per studium nostrum" etc.

Page 149, line 8. dari i.e. given over to death for our salvation; with the reading "dare", "caritatem" would have to be supplied.

INSTRUCTIO XII.

The necessity for frequent exhortation to true repentance --

The second Advent to be awaited with humility and fear -- A prayer for charity and light.

Page 150, line 1. Compunctionis...insinuationem i.e. "a suggestion of the need for contrition"; cf. p.48,10 "necessariae insinuationem praesumptionis."

3. soliloquiis The preacher means that he has addressed his sermons in the first instance to himself; Columban stresses the need to enforce precept by personal example in Epist. II (p.16,11 foll.).

6. documenta This refers especially to the minatory texts which have repeatedly been quoted in the previous sermons.

9. divini oraculi i.e. Holy Scripture; the plural is more usual in this sense.

11. ut ait quidam A diligent search through the Indices to Migne's Latin Patrology has revealed only one passage as the possible source of this quotation; it is from Greg. Magn.

Homil. in Evang. 2,26,11 (P.L. 76, 1203 B-C) "Certe si aliquis vestrum cum suo adversario causam dicturus in meo iudicio die crastino esset exhibendus..." The parallel is not particularly close, but it is perhaps worth noticing that elsewhere (p.39, 14-5) Columban introduces a quotation from Gregory with the words "ut ait quidam".

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15. quomodo adclinares i.e. "how would you turn for support."

17. sordidus in the dress of mourning, affected by accused persons in the Roman courts.

Page 151, line 4. tantum ut vivam i.e. "only let me live."

6. Hic Here on earth, in your actual condition, as a mortal subject at any time to God's judgement.

19. torpentibus...teporis torporibus cf. p.131,15-6, and "acuat...acies" on p.152,3-4 below.

20. sententia The passage quoted above from Luc.21,34-6.

20. vibret i.e. "quicken into activity".

Page 152, line 12. conglutinet The word in its metaphorical sense is common in Cicero, but always with an abstract object (e.g. "amicitiam").

15. ei is governed both by placentes and occurramus in the following line.

Page 153, line 3. suae i.e. love for Him, and kindled by Him.

5. lignum Probably a reference to the cross, a familiar symbol of the Tree of Life.

9. meriti cf. Epist. II (p.19,17-8) "si boni simus meriti".

9. lucerna The picture is taken from Exod. 27,20-1 "...ut ardeat lucerna semper In tabernaculo testimonii."

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11. luceret cf. Matt. 5,15 "...ut luceat omnibus qui in domo sunt."

12. foll. Domine etc. The prayers with which this and the following sermons conclude, have a mystical depth of singular beauty, which anticipates, and is in many respects equal to, the well-known hymns of St Bernard.

14-5. mihi...luceat i.e. may inflame my own heart, and give light to others.

Page 154, line 1. sancta sanctorum The Holy of Holies, the innermost shrine of the Jewish temple, and so here, the height of heaven.

2. aeternum...aeternorum "eternal Priest of the eternal things"; a reference to Melchizedek as a type of Christ.

2. antibus The word, which normally denotes rows of vines or ranks of soldiers, here describes the lines of pillars in the heavenly Temple.

7. pulsantibus i.e. "orantibus"; cf. p.94,14.

INSTRUCTIO XIII.

Christ the Fount of Life and Bread of Immortality -- A prayer for the Divine compassion.

Page 155, line 1. ratiocinationibus i.e. "considerations of daily experience."

2. miseria in Instr. III-VII.

3. oraculis in Instr. IX-XII.

3. parvitatem ingenioli Columban's style is marked throughout by a love of abstract terms and of diminutives.

5. nostra loquacitas cf. Epist. II (26,15) "meae loquacitati"; ad Hunald. 16 "fuimus fortasse loquaces."

7. propriam see on p.150,3.

8. minus to be taken with satisfecerit in the foll. line.

10. mensurae descriptive genitive; translate "as luke-warm as ourselves." In view of the severity of his Rule, Columban is perhaps unnecessarily modest.

11-2. quod nocet abscondi i.e. a warning of the vanity of this life, and of the judgement to come.

Page 156, 3. Isaias Actually the quotation is from Jeremiah; see on p.137,15 and 18.

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Page 157, 6 foll. Videte unde etc. This whole passage, of which the inspiration is derived from the discourses in St John's Gospel, reaches a remarkable height of glowing eloquence.

Page 158, line 2. saturantium The word is here intransitive, a very rare and poetical use; the only parallel seems to be Lucil. Aetna 268-9 "...leves cruciant animos et corpora causae Horrea uti saturent, tumeant et dolia musto" (where, however, "saturent" may be taken as transitive, with "horrea" as its object).

15. rex Propheta i.e. David.

Page 159, line 6. pisces The fish is one of the earliest symbols of Christ, with Whom we are identified in the waters of Baptism; cf. Tert. de Bapt. I (P.L. I, 1198 A) "Sed nos pisciculi secundum IXΘYN nostrum Iesum Christum in aqua nascimur, nec aliter quam in aqua permanendo salvi sumus."

18-9. Magna quidem...Sed tu This is one of Columban's favourite turns of expression; cf. Epist. I (p.11,13-4) "Importuna postulo et magna sciscitor, quis nesciat? Sed et tu magna habes..."

Page 160, line 9. vulnera The "wounds of love" are inflicted by the healing Cross (cf. sanatur vulnerando below); "haec est enim veritas evangelii, ut veri Christi crucifixi discipuli eum sequantur cum cruce" (p.37,8-10).

REGULA MONACHORUM.

Probably written at Luxeuil, circa 595-600 A.D.

Page 161. The Turin MSS, independently supported by that of Cologne, represent the Bobbio tradition of chapter-division and of text, which I take to be authentic. G, K and E belong to a different family of MSS, which subdivides the Rule into short sections, suitable for devotional reading, and omits chapters VII (De Cursu) and X; it seems probable that these changes were made, after Columban's death, and in some monastery which had adopted the Benedictine observance, but continued to use Columban's work for devotional purposes. These later subdivisions are indicated by brackets in the text. It is to be noted that, with the exception of chapter VII, the Regula deals entirely with internal dispositions, and not with external observances; it belongs in fact to the type of ascetic literature represented by the Sermons, rather than to that of the more formal monastic Rules.

Page 162, line 3. deinde opera. i.e. the two great commandments provide the ruling principles; we now pass to the practical application of them.

6. surgere oportet. Jonas (I,12) records the miraculous healing of some sick monks at Luxeuil, who obeyed their Abbot's order to rise up and work, "quorum conscientiam oboedientiae ignis

urebat." The precept is repeated in the Regula Cuiusdam cap. 3 (P.L.66,988 D) "ad primum verbum senioris omnes, qui audierint ex fratribus, assurgere oportet."

10-11. inoboedientiae reus. This condemnation of contumacy is taken almost verbatim from Basil, transl. Rufinus, Interrog. 69 (P.L.103,518 D) "...inobedientiae reus est...multorum malorum causa efficitur...quia aditum contradictionis pluribus aperit..." Columban appears to have been familiar with the writings of Basil in Rufinus' translation. The greatest danger of disobedience lay in its effect on other members of the community.

15. opus eius abiiciatur. Again Columban quotes from Basil -- Interrog. 71 (P.L. 103,519 B) "Alienus sit a fratrum unitate qui murmurat et opus eius abiiciatur." The "rejection" of a monk's "work" means that he is temporarily suspended from taking part in the monastic activities, especially in the Divine Service; the Regula Cuiusdam cap. 6 (P.L.66,989 B) goes so far as to add solitary confinement to this penalty -- "Si quis frater murmurans inventus fuerit, hic ipse mittendus est in carcerem, et opus eius abiiciatur."

17. usque ad mortem. The same definition of Christ-like obedience is given by Basil, Interrog. 65 (P.L.103,517 D) 69 (ib. 518 D) and 126 (ib. 533 B); by Cassian, Inst. XII,28 (P.L.49,470 B); and by the Regula Cuiusdam cap.3 (P.L.66,988 D).

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Page 163, line 6. Nihil itaque recusandum. For examples of prompt obedience in fulfilling the most difficult and apparently irrational commands, see J. Ryan, Irish Monasticism pp. 250-5.

15. Silentii regula. The precept is repeated in the Regula Cuiusdam cap. 16 (P.L. 66, 991 A), and in the Regula of Donatus cap. 49 (P.L. 87, 288 A foll.). Although a strict rule of silence was imposed by Columban for much of the day, it appears that talking was permitted at periods of recreation; this may be gathered from the mention of a form of punishment, known as "superpositio silentii", in Reg. Coen. cap. 4 (p. 188, 13 below), cf. cap. 9 (p. 193, 20).

17-8. reatus...conquiratur. Translate "be singled out as guilty of loquacity."

Page 164, line 8. tumidae. i.e. "passionate".

11. vilis et vespertinus. The phrase is taken from Jerome Epist. 58, 6 (P.L. 22, 583) "Sit vilis et vespertinus cibus." Reeves, Adamnan (1857) p. 355, note h, quotes Ratramnus of Corbie to the effect that, except on Sundays and festivals, the Irish monks never fed till nones; but this rule might be set aside in the interests of hospitality, for Columba sometimes (Adamnan I, 26) is found breaking his fast in order to welcome a guest. Here, Columban enjoins a single poor meal, taken in the evening, as the ideal to be attained; but his

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successors must have permitted some relaxation for those who found such fasting too severe, for the Reg. Coen. cap.13 (p.200,9; one of the later additions to Columban's original Rule) makes it compulsory on Wednesdays and Fridays alone. Early evening was the normal meal-time everywhere in the East (cf. Cass. Conl. II,11; Jerome Epist. 22,35 etc.), but in colder climates more food was found to be required.

11-2. satietaem fugiens. Again, Columban quotes from Jerome (Epist. 22,17 -- P.L.22,404) "Sint tibi quotidiana ieiunia, et refectio satietaem fugiens." The monks' food must be just sufficient to maintain life, but not enough to induce a harmful satiety (cf. "ut et sustineat et non noceat" below).

12. ebrietaem. sc. "fugiens".

13. holera etc. At Cluain Eidnech under Fintan, often the only food was "olera agrestia" (Plummer, Vit. SS. Hib. II p.99); at Bangor, under Comgall, bread, vegetables and water made up the diet, milk and milk foods being a later introduction (Plummer, ib. II p.13; Ryan, Irish Monasticism p.387). Fish appears to have been eaten at Iona, and Columban made use of fish and wild fowl when on the continent (Jonas I, 11 and 27). But during his retreats, Columban practised the most severe austerities of Irish asceticism, and Jonas records (I,9) that at one point "erat cibus ita adtenuatus ut vix vivere crederes."

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13. farinae. i.e. rough-ground grains of corn; the plural is unusual, but in this sense not impossible.

14. paxemati. This is the genitive of "paxematium", a small loaf weighing half a Roman pound of 163.5 grammes; cf. Cass. Conl. II,19 (P.L.49,552 A) "in duobus paximaciis...quos parvulos panes vix librae unius pondus habere certissimum est."

15. utilitati et usui. "servicability and need."

17. usus. sc. "cibi et potus."

18. possibilitas. i.e. the "capacity" for spiritual progress; cf. p.170,9 and 11 below, and Cass. Inst. V,5 (P.L.49,210 A) "...cum corporis enim possibilitate participant." For further discussion of the implications of vera discretio, see cap.VIII below.

Page 165, lines 1-2. virtus...continet. Columban's meaning is that virtue is not simply a matter of self-denial; discretion, humility and many other good qualities are also requisite, and if these are lacking, mere asceticism will degenerate into a vice. The best commentary on the present passage is to be found in Epist. IV (p.40,3-6) "Angusta, vides, porta est et paucis degressa perfectionis via, quae a laeva vitia, a dextera vanitatis et superbiae mala declinat." There is a similar prohibition of excessive austerity in the longer recension of the Reg. Coen. (p.206,5-6).

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5. ideo...edendum est. i.e. the only purpose of eating is to provide strength sufficient for a daily advance in prayer, labour and study; ideo is explained by the following quia.

10. quibus pro Christo. The same form of the text (instead of the Vulgate's "Christum, per quem mihi...") is quoted by Rufinus' translation of Basil, Interrog. 4 (P.L.103,496 D).

"Hic cui pro Christo mundus omnis crucifixus est et ipse mundo, quomodo potest servus effici cogitationum et sollicitudinum mundi...?"; and it appears again in the Regula Cuiusdam cap.11 (P.L. 66,990 B).

12. superflua. cf. Can. 17 Patricii (Haddan and Stubbs, Councils II p.335) "Monachi sunt qui solitarii sine terrenis opibus habitant...Quo voto vivitur...si superabundantia in omnibus devitetur in vita." From the beginning, poverty formed an essential part of Irish monasticism.

13. non census sed voluntas. i.e. "not wealth but will-power."

15. sequentes. cf. Epist. IV (p.37,8-10) "haec est enim veritas evangelii, ut veri Christi crucifixi discipuli eum sequantur cum cruce." The cross is laid on them by their fear (timoris in line 14) of offending God.

20. proditionem atque perditionem. Throughout the Rule, Columban enforces his maxims by similar pithy turns of expression; cf. "utilitati et usui" (p.164,15 above).

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Page 166, line 2. nuditas et facultatum contemptus. The phrase is borrowed from Cass. Inst. IV,43 (P.L.49,202 A), a passage of which there are several echoes in the present chapter of Columban's Rule -- "Principium nostrae salutis sapientiaeque secundum Scripturas timor Domini est. De timore Domini nascitur compunctio salutaris. De compunctione cordis procedit abrenuntiatio, id est, nuditas et contemptus omnium facultatum. De nuditate humilitas procreatur. De humilitate mortificatio voluntatum generatur. Mortificatione voluntatum exstirpantur atque marcescunt universa vitia. Expulsione vitiorum virtutes fructificant atque succrescunt. Pullulatione virtutum puritas cordis acquiritur. Puritate cordis apostolicae charitatis perfectio possidetur." Facultates is of course to be taken here in the sense of "riches".

3. purgatio vitiorum. Again Columban quotes from Cassian, Conl. XIV, 1, (P.L. 49, 954 B)"(Disciplina nostrae religionis) cuius quidem duplex est scientia -- prima practice, id est actualis, quae emendatione morum et vitiorum purgatione perficitur; altera theorice, id est, quae in contemplatione divinarum rerum et sacratissimorum sensuum cognitione consistit."

4. iugis. i.e. "continual" (adjective).

8. transigitur. The verb is impersonal; G and E make the sense clearer by supplying "vita" as the subject. The only example

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of this impersonal use furnished by the dictionaries is from Tac. Germ. 19, "cum spe votoque uxoris semel transigitur."

10. sensus. i.e. "mind, outlook"; cf. p.32,19.

12. Marthae. cf. Luke 10,42.

Page 167, line 1. exemplo. Luke 18,10.

4. accusata. i.e. the sins of which he accused himself.

12. votum. "self-dedication". illius i.e. the monk; ille i.e. God.

16. virgo corpore. This seems to be a reminiscence of Jerome Epist. 22,38 (P.L.22,422) "Etiam si corpore virgo est, spiritu virgo sit nescio."

17. quem. The antecedent is spiritu.

Page 168, line 2. synaxi. The synaxis is properly the "assembling" of the congregation for the purpose of psalmody; the cursus refers especially to the great service of the "vigiliae matutinae", when the Psalter was regularly chanted "in course". An anonymous document of the Carolingian period (Haddan and Stubbs, Councils I p.138) traces the origin of the Irish "cursus" through Southern France to Egypt, and there can be little doubt that its inspiration was ultimately drawn from the psalmody of the Egyptian monks which Cassian describes. The system of the present chapter appears to be that of five canonical hours (vespers, vigils, terce, sext and nones) mentioned by Jerome

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(Epist. 22,37 -- P.L.22,421), but with the night-office divided into two; and this sixfold division of the Divine Office agrees with the earliest Irish accounts (cf. Eriu III p.116). However, the Antiphonary of Bangor (ed. Warren fol. 17 verso - 18 verso) distinguishes vespers proper from what it calls "ad initium noctis", and adds prime ("ad secundam"), making a total of eight offices in the twenty-four hours; its system is thus slightly more developed than that which Columban has in view. Contemporary French practice is described in the 18th Canon of the Council of Tours (Hefele-Leclercq, Conciles III i p.188); it agrees with the Irish in varying the number of psalms at mattins according to the season, but the total is always much smaller than that which Columban here enjoins. It must, however, be remembered that there was as yet no rigid uniformity in the number and performance of the daily offices. Donatus quotes the opening of this chapter in his Rule (cap.75 -- P.L. 87,296 B), and then proceeds to develop a free variation of a similar, but not identical, "cursus".

3. distinguenda. The distinctions which Columban proceeds to draw are these:- (1) between summer and winter, the number of psalms being varied to suit the varying length of the night; (2) between holy and common nights, the former (i.e. those preceding Saturdays and Sundays) being marked by more elaborate

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and longer psalmody; (3) between public and private prayer, for which the different capacities of individuals must be borne in mind.

5. vitae qualitatem. i.e. age, strength and spiritual development; Columban returns to this topic in the second and third paragraphs of the chapter.

7-8. pro...alternatione "in view of the balanced changing of the seasons"; the lengthening nights of autumn are balanced by the shorter ones in spring.

8. longior etc. The Regula Magistri, which draws to a large extent from Columban, also (cap. 33 -- P.L.88,1002) provides for a variable number of psalms according to the season of the year; but it varies only from 20 to 24 psalms, and makes no distinction between "holy" and other nights.

9. Inde etc. What follows refers to the "cursus" on the "holy" nights preceding Saturdays and Sundays; the other nights are mentioned in lines 18-9 below. It may be convenient here to tabulate the regulations which Columban proceeds to lay down:-

<u>Months</u>	<u>Psalms to be sung on "holy" nights</u>
May-July	36 (twelve "chorae")
Aug.-Oct.	increase at the rate of 3 per week
Nov.-Jan.	75 (25 "antifonae", or half the Psalter)
Feb.-Apr.	decrease at the rate of 3 per week
<u>Season</u>	<u>Psalms to be sung on other nights</u>
25th Mar.- 24th Sept.	24
24th Sept. - 25th Mar.	36

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9. cum senioribus. Columban is here following the earliest Irish tradition, as indicated in the note on line 2 above.

10. ab VIII Kalendas Iulii. June 24th is mentioned as being Midsummer Day, and so representative of the period of the shortest nights; in fact, the gradual increase can only have begun in August, for at the rate of three psalms per week (cf. line 20 below) only thirteen weeks would be required to reach the winter maximum, which is not attained until Nov. 1st (line 13).

11-2. XII choris. From a comparison of line 18 below with p.169,2, it is clear that this means a total of 36 psalms; each "chora" must therefore be a group of 3 psalms, and they were probably differentiated by some peculiarity in the chant (see note on line 14).

12. brevissimi modi. The "shortest measure" of 36 psalms is appointed only for the summer period on the "holy" nights; it happens to coincide with the winter maximum appointed on the other nights (lines 18-9 below).

14-6. XXV canunt antifonas...psallitis. The sequel (lines 17-8) shows that this refers to a total amounting to half the Psalter, or 75 psalms; they are again divided into groups of three, in which the first two psalms seem to have been chanted exactly as they were written, the third with the addition of an "antiphon". The "antiphon" would presumably be a response intercalated between each verse, such as the refrain, "Quoniam

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in saeculum misericordia eius," which Athanasius (Apol. de Fuga Sua cap. 24) taught his congregation to sing. A similar distinction between direct and antiphonal psalmody is found in Caesarius of Arles, Reg. SS. Virg. cap.66 (ed. Morin II p.120) -- "Ad lucernarium, directaneus brevis et antiphonae tres" -- and in the Rule of Benedict cap. 17 (P.L. 66,459 C) -- "Si maior congregatio fuerit, cum antiphonis, si vero minor, in directum psallantur." Antifonas psalorum forms a sort of compound noun, the antecedent of qui; and as each such psalm characterizes one of the groups of three, the meaning is ultimately parallel to the chorae of line 12 above. In the Turin MSS, and in the text of Fleming, psalorum is followed by the words "eiusdem numeri duplicis"; in spite of the valiant efforts of Dom Morin (in Revue Bénédictine XII,1895, pp.200-1), these really defy translation, and I am inclined to think that they form a gloss on psallitis in the following line, which has crept into the text here by confusion with the word psalorum; I would therefore follow the remaining MSS in omitting the phrase, and have placed it in brackets in the text. Translate "On which they sing 25 antiphonal psalms, which always follow in the third place after two that have been chanted straight through"; i.e. 25 of the former, plus double the number of the latter, making the required total of 75.

18. ceteras. i.e. Monday to Friday, for each of which the "cursus" is made up of 36 psalms.

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19. per ver. The weekly decrease of three psalms, or one "chora", occupies the thirteen weeks of the period of spring.

Page 169, lines 2-3. cottidiani...cursus. "The 36 psalms of the daily winter cursus"; i.e. the total appointed in winter for the ordinary psalmody on Monday to Friday, this maximum being equal to the summer minimum on the "holy" nights.

3. XXIIII autem. The anacolouthon is so violent that one is tempted to suspect a lacuna in all the texts. These "24 psalms" must represent the number appointed in summer for the ordinary nights (cf. p.170,4); and as there is no mention of a gradual increase, but the number is said to remain constant, the change on these nights, from 24 to 36 and back again, must have been made instantaneously at the equinoxes, a fact which the author seems to be trying to indicate in lines 5-6 below.

6. VIII Kalendas Aprilis. March 25th was the old, and incorrect, date of the spring equinox, still maintained in Ireland when the rest of the Western Church had adopted the "Athanasian" date of March 21st.

7. crescit et decrescit. This must refer to the "cursus" of the "holy" nights, for that on the others remains unchanged throughout spring, summer and early autumn (cf. lines 3-4 above).

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8. iuxta vires. i.e. the additional private prayers of individuals must be apportioned to their strength; Columban picks up one of his "distinctions" from p.168, 5 above, but immediately turns to consider the day-time offices. Jerome has a somewhat similar passage in Epist. 22,37 (P.L. 22,421) "Quamquam Apostolus orare nos semper iubeat, et sanctis etiam ipse sit somnus oratio, sic tamen divisas orandi horas debemus habere, ut si forte aliquo fuerimus opere detenti, ipsum nos ad officium tempus admoneat. Horam tertiam, sextam, nonam, diluculum quoque et vesperam, nemo est qui nesciat."

12. omnes simul orantes. Attendance at the stated offices is obligatory for all, no relaxations being permitted to age or weakness; but Paen. B 29 (p.219,18-9) permits the cook and porter to be absent, when detained on business. The fact that all pray together invalidates the suggestion, first made by Bernard (Vita Malachiae cap.VI -- P.L.182,1082 C), that Columban established the "Laus Perennis" at Luxeuil.

13. in cubiculo. Cassian, Inst. II,15 (P.L.49,105 B), tells how the Egyptian monks withdrew into their cells for private prayer, at the conclusion of the public offices. It is possible, however, that here Columban refers rather to the continual attitude of inward prayer, which his monks should seek to maintain at all times and places; cf. Jerome Epist. 22, 25 (P.L. 22, 411) "Semper te cubiculi tui secreta custodiant,

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semper tecum sponsus ludat intrinsecus."

14. terni psalmi. The same number is mentioned by Cassian, Inst. III,3 (P.L. 49,116 A), and by Benedict, Reg. cap.17 (P.L. 66,459 C).

15. versiculorum. These "versiculi" or "preces communes" correspond very closely in subject-matter with those given in sect. 40-56 of the Antiphonary of Bangor, (cf. W.C.Bishop in Church Quarterly Review 37, 1894, pp.358 foll.), and whose titles are as follows:- Pro peccatis nostris, Pro baptizatis, Pro sacerdotibus, Pro abbate, Pro fratribus, Pro fraternitate, Pro pace populorum et regum, Pro blasphemantibus, Pro impiis, Pro iter facientibus, Pro redeuntibus (?), Pro eleemosynariis, Pro infirmis, Pro captivis (?), De martyribus, Pro tribulantibus, Collectio completoria (?), Ad martyres, Pro poenitentibus. A later and shortened version of these intercessions appears at sect. 117-9.

Page 170, lines 2 foll. Ad initium etc. Having dealt (a) with the "cursus" of the early morning vigils, which varies according to both season and night, and (b) with the invariable offices appointed for the three day-time hours, Columban now turns to the remaining two offices, vespers (said at night-fall) and nocturns (said at midnight), for each of which the number of psalms is invariably fixed at twelve. The total number of psalms sung each day is thus thirty-three at the

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stable offices, together with an amount varying from twenty-four to seventy-five, at the "vigiliae matutinae".

4-5. bis deni bisque bini. These are the 24 psalms which make up the summer minimum of the "cursus" on common nights.

5. pluribus...semper. The summer minimum on "holy" nights is 36; the winter maximum rises to 75 (line 7).

8. communem...synaxin. The present chapter makes no mention of the Mass; we can be reasonably certain that celebration was not daily (cf. Plummer, Vitae SS. Hib. I p.cxxvi) but on festivals and Sundays only, and this is probably the reason for the omission.

8 foll. Ceterum vera etc. The structure of this complicated sentence appears to be as follows:- orandi traditio is the subject of aestimanda est (line 18), and ut possibilitas... (line 9) together with et quantum... (line 13) is picked up by ita (line 17). Translate "However, as I have said, the true tradition of prayer -- as far as the potential devotion directed to this end may be realized without fatigue (whether the perfection of its potential may allow, or the subject's mental capacity or physical condition could allow, considering his limitations), and to the extent that the zeal of each requires, if he be unhampered and alone, or the scope of his learning demands, or the leisure of his position, the quantity of study, the type of occupation, the difference of ages permits -- is so far to be considered the perfection of one

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and the same task, however varied the realization, because it alternates with work and circumstance."

9. ut dixi. On p.168,3 foll. above.

9-10. possibilitas...voti. The phrase could be translated "the potentiality of him who is destined for this work (may be realized) without weariness (in the performance) of his vow"; but in view of Columban's love of an interlaced word-order, it is almost certain that "destinati" is to be taken in agreement with "voti", and the meaning given as above.

12. illius. i.e. the man who is seeking to fulfil the "true tradition of prayer".

18. varie. sc. "praevalens", or some such word.

19. quia...partitur. O.Seebass suggests (Über Columba von Luxeuils Klosterregel und Bussbuch, 1883, p.21 note) what is at first sight an attractive emendation -- "quia cum labore adoratio vices partitur." But it is necessary to retain the words ac loco, for Columban has pointed out other circumstances besides the amount of labour undertaken, which may vary in individual opportunities for prayer; and "oratio" may very easily be understood as the subject of partitur.

20. longitudo standi. Monastic discipline varied on this point; the Egyptian monks were permitted to sit during the long vigils (cf. Cass. Inst. II,12), but Columban prescribes a genuflexion at the conclusion of each psalm (p.186,2 below).

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20. cantandi. Differing numbers of psalms are appointed in the different Rules; see notes on p.168,2 and 8 above.

Page 171, lines 1-2. mentis...intentio. "mental attention that is unceasing with God's help"; the essential point is the regular attitude of mind, and not the length or number of outward offices performed.

2. quidam catholici. Ebrard and Hertel considered this a reference to the Benedictines, but Benedict prescribed three and not four (line 4) night-offices; moreover, the phrase quoted from Cassian in line 3 suggests that Columban is here thinking rather of the Egyptians, a conclusion which is supported by his language in line 18 below.

3. canonicus...numerus. The phrase is twice used by Cassian -- Inst. II,4 (P.L.49,83 A) "Igitur per universam ut diximus Aegyptum et Thebaidem, duodenarius psalmodum numerus tam in vespertinis quam in nocturnis sollemnitatibus custoditur"; and Inst. II,12 (ib.102 A) "Hunc sane canonicum...duodenarium psalmodum numerum." On the Egyptian system, this number is invariable throughout the year.

4-5. quaternas...vices. A fourfold division of the night-office appears also in the Antiphonary of Bangor (see note on p.168,2 above); Columban is obliged by the length of his vigils to make the number three.

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6. pullorum...cantus. Lauds, which seems to be intended here, was one of the most ancient parts of the Divine Office in the East (cf. Leclercq, Dict. d'archéol. chrét. et de liturgie, s.v.). At Bethlehem, it followed immediately after vigils (called "ad medium noctis" in the present passage); about the year 380, prime or mattins was there added, following lauds, in order to prevent lazy monks sleeping on till terce (Cass. Inst. III, 4 -- P.L. 49,126 A foll. -- a chapter that is somewhat confused, as Cassian appears to give the name "mattins" indiscriminately to both the early morning offices).

8. aliis. i.e. those who do not use this system.

10. expeditionibus from cell to church.

12. ad matutinum. This refers to the "vigiliae matutinae" the great office on Columban's system, to which in modern usage the name "mattins" is appropriated. For this, on "holy" nights, the Egyptians have invariably thirty-six psalms; and their distinction between these and common nights is one of the characteristic features borrowed by Columban.

13. Quorum. i.e. the "catholici quidam" of line 2.

16. disciplinam. sc. "indixit"; the apparent attraction of the system is that it avoids the tiresome lengthening of the "cursus", which Columban recommends in winter, but this advantage is counterbalanced (cf. lines 8 foll.) by the difficulty of fitting four separate offices into the short summer nights.

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18. mille...referantur. The words are strongly suggestive of early monasticism in Egypt, where many monks lived a largely independent life in separate cells, under the general supervision of an "archimandrite". This type of monk is probably indicated by the word "abbates"; elsewhere in Columban's writings, in Ep. I (p.9,17), and in the later additions to the Regula Coenobialis, it signifies an Abbot in the modern sense.
19. a conditione coenobii. i.e. "since the foundation of the monastery."

Page 172, line 4. deo gratias. This must be taken as an exclamatory aside, unless the true reading be "dei gratia".

5. quorum meritis. Columban believed in the value of the saints' intercession; cf. Instr. I (p.94,16-7) "per sanctorum suorum merita et interventus". The formal conclusion to the present chapter suggests that it originally formed a spoken discourse, separate from the remainder of the Rule.

8 foll. Discretio monachis etc. Many phrases in this chapter are taken from Cassian, Conl. II,2 (P.L.49,526 B) "Quosdam... ita vidimus repente deceptos, ut arreptum opus non potuerint congruo exitu terminare...Quamobrem quid principaliter ducat ad Deum manifeste poterimus agnoscere, si ruinae ac deceptionis illorum causa diligentius a nobis fuerit indagata...Nequaquam potuerunt rationem discretionis adipisci, quae praetermittens utramque nimietatem, via regia docet monachum semper incedere, et nec dextera virtutum permittit extolli, id est fervoris

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excessu continentiae iustae modum inepta praesumptione transcendere, nec oblectatum remissione deflectere ad vitia sinistra concedit..."

10. absque moderatrice scientia. Columban would be familiar, from his reading of Cassian and Jerone, with the mad austerities practised by some of the oriental hermits; these fortunately seldom featured in Western monasticism. For the thought, cf. p.175, 19-20 below.

14. in medio. The idea of the "Golden Mean", ultimately derived from Aristotle (esp. Eth. Nic. II), probably came to Columban through Cassian.

15. impactio. i.e. "blow, attack"; a very rare word.

16. periculi res. i.e. "a dangerous affair".

17. inimici. The devil and his agents.

19. lumen...discretionis. cf. Cass. Conl. II,2 (P.L.49,526 C) "Haec namque est discretio, quae oculus et lucerna corporis in Evangelio nuncupatur."

Page 173, line 4. media. i.e. "mediocre"; Columban has for the moment deserted the conception of virtue as a mean between contrary extremes.

5 foll. Divisa namque etc. cf. Instr. XI (p.145,18) "Divisa est enim veritas a falsitate..."

8. per deum...prius. Just as the creation of light caused a division between night and day (Gen. I,4), so Columban seems

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to think that the possibility of evil is inherent in the existence of multiplicity; but the realization of that possibility is due to the devil's work (line 7) of corrupting part of a nature that is created good (line 10). Somewhat similar ideas are frequently found in the writings of Augustine, e.g. De libero arbitrio II,20,54 (P.L.32,1270) "Omne autem bonum ex Deo; nulla ergo natura est quae non sit ex Deo. Motus ergo ille aversionis (sc. a Deo), quod fatemur esse peccatum, quoniam defectivus motus est, omnis autem defectus ex nihilo est, vide quo pertineat, et ad Deum non pertinere ne dubites..." and De civitate Dei XII,7 (P.L.41,355) "Nemo igitur quaerat efficientem causam malae voluntatis; non enim est efficiens, sed deficiens..."

9. Abel...Cain. Gen. 4,3-5. mala incidit. "fell into evil".

10. Bona deus fecit. cf. Cass. Conl. VIII,6 (P.L.49,730 A) "Absit ergo, ut Deum quidquam creasse confiteamur quod substantialiter malum sit, dicente Scriptura, Omnia quae fecit Deus, bona sunt valde."

11. superseminavit. A reference to the parable of the wheat and tares, Matt. 13,24-30.

14. permanserunt. cf. Cass. Conl. VIII,24 (P.L.49,764 B - 5 A) "Ita ergo intelligimus ab initio Deum omnia creasse perfecta, nec fuisse quod ordinationi eius principali, velut improvidae et imperfectae, necesse esset adiungi, vel quod ei addi post

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haec oporteret, si in illo statu ac dispositione, qua ab ipso creata sunt universa, mansissent."

Page 174, line 3. quae. This, though ungrammatical, has the best MS authority; in C G F, it has been corrected to "qui", in order to agree with its actual antecedent, fructibus.

7. primum malum...superbia. Pride is, in a sense, the "architectonic" vice, lying at the foundation of the rest; cf. Greg. Magn. Mor. XXI,45 (P.L.76,620 D). The sin of our first parents (Gen.3,6) was its fruit; its contrary virtue is a humble acknowledgement and worship of the Creator.

11-2. immanem nominum silvam. "A great forest of names", some of which Columban has listed above; the metaphorical use of "silva" is classical, but Cicero sometimes has "quasi" by way of apology.

13. dei depends on auxilium.

14. foll. prospera et adversa etc. cf. Greg. Reg. Past. II,3 (P.L.77,28 D) "...nulla prospera praesentis vitae appetat, nulla adversa pertimescat." For a different expression of the same ideas, see Prov. 30,8-9.

18. nimietate. cf. ad Hunald. 17 "Omne quod est nimium semper vitare memento."

18. veram discretionem. The present passage seems to have been suggested by a number of similar expressions in Cassian, Conl.

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II,10 (P.L.49,537 B) "...per veram discretionis viam iuvenem recto tramite docebit incedere (sc. humilitas)" and ib. 16 (550 A) "...recto moderamine transeundum est, et ita inter utrasque nimietates discretionis moderante gradiendum est."

Page 175, lines 3-6. sive inter utraque etc. The distinctions, which to some extent overlap, are between:- (1) good and evil in external actions (foris), (2) carnal and spiritual desires in the inner life (intus), (3) the performance of outward good works and the perfection of character (opera et mores), (4) the active and the contemplative lives (curam et quietem), (5) the calls of official duty and of personal devotion (publica ac secreta). Columban glances at the same difficulties in Epist. II (p.24,6 foll.) -- "secreti melius vivunt quam publici, excepta austeriore adhuc vita quae maiorem habet mercedem" -- and he probably there intends a reference to the combination of monk and Supreme Pontiff, found in the person of Gregory the Great. To a lesser extent, Columban had himself been forced to reconcile the conflicting claims of a personal desire for seclusion, and an apparent call to interfere in the religious and political affairs of France.

6. similiter. The vices must all be shunned "equally", for concentration upon a single vice may induce a lapse into the opposite extreme.

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7 foll. superbia etc. Columban provides a short list of the chief vices, together with their contrary virtues, in the tract De octo vitiis principalibus; here, invidia...transgressio are added, apparently in explanation of the various forms which superbia may take, gula...vana gloria are identical with the other list, except that instabilitas is substituted for acedia, and elatio, detractio are added at the end, as examples of the outward effects of vana gloria.

These changes are not sufficiently great to be surprising, for in the tract, "instabilitas" is closely connected with "acedia" (p.224,4) and "elatio" with "vana gloria" (ib. lines 8-9). The virtues also correspond fairly closely; here, puritas is opposed both to mendacium and corruptela, oboedientia to both impietas and mala morum transgressio, while fervor and impigritia are together required to balance vana gloria. It is to be noted that in both lists of the present passage, a word which indicates a permanent disposition is more than once followed by one which describes its consequence in act (e.g. impietas -- mala morum transgressio; vana gloria -- elatio, detractio).

9. instabilitas refers especially to lack of perseverance in the monastic profession.

15. ponderatrice. This adjective here makes its first appearance in Latin literature; with statera, it means precisely "weighing-machine".

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16. in actu to be taken with operis assueti; translate "in the performance of our customary work."

16-7. pro captu conatus nostri. i.e. "according to the capacity of our endeavour."

17. quaerentibus. Supply "nobis" out of nostri.

18. cui sufficientia etc. See note p.83,3-4, and cf. ad Hunald. 8 "Nescit habere modum vanis mens dedita curis."

Page 176, line 3. posita. To be taken in agreement with re; translate "in every case posited, providing what is universally fixed by human needs, and spurning the unreasonable demands of excessive desire."

12. tenendum est. cf. Greg. Reg. Past. I,11 (P.L.77,24 B)

"...ad tenendam mensuram discretionis...per quam virtutes eligimus, delicta reprobamus."

18. mortificatio. It is to be remarked that the present chapter says nothing of external austerities, but deals solely with the internal mortification of the will by obedience; the outward discipline, of which the Regula Coenobialis treats, is here taken for granted.

Page 177, line 2. interrogandum. i.e. the guidance of the spiritual director is always to be sought; cf. Cass. Conl. II,10 (P.L.49,537 B) "Cuius humilitatis haec erit prima

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probatio, si universa non solum quae agenda sunt, sed etiam quae cogitantur, seniorum reserventur examini, ut nihil quis suo iudicio credens, illorum per omnia definitionibus acquiescat, et quid bonum vel malum debeat iudicare, eorum traditione cognoscat." There was a traditional Irish saying that a person without a confessor is like a body without a head (cf. Martyrology of Oengus, ed. W. Stokes, 1905, pp. 65 and 183); the Ordo Monasticus de Kil-Ros -- a document that is certainly late, but which here represents the traditional attitude -- mentions the "patrem spiritualement... sine cuius iussu nihil praestare potuerunt, sed illius licentiam etiam vel ad naturae requisita acquirebant". (P.L. 59, 565 D).

6. certis...timentibus i.e. "those who are fixed in the fear of God."

13. alieni...moles i.e. "the weight of another's burden," the director takes over responsibility for the decisions of his disciple.

17. servaverit sc. "alterius responsum".

20. discusserit. The sense of "examine" is post-classical; cf. Instr. XI (p. 135, 10) "nosmetipsos cottidie discutiamus."

Page 178, line 3. per hoc. i.e. by taking the decision himself.

5. tantum oboedire. In the longer recension of the Regula Coenobialis (p. 199, 3-4), a penance of 24 psalms is appointed

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for performing any task without orders, and in the Penitential (p.209,16 foll.) as much as three "superpositions" is the penalty for the same offence; these arrangements must have placed an enormous burden on the shoulders of the Abbot, even with the help of a staff of "seniores", but it is to be remembered that the community in view was a small one, of not much more than sixty members. An attitude of unquestioning obedience is inculcated by Cassian with the following words, Inst. XII,32 (P.L.49,475 A) "...ita ut praeter abbatis mandatum nulla penitus voluntas vivat in nobis. Quod non aliter observari poterit, nisi ab eo qui non solum se mortuum huic mundo, verum etiam insipientem iudicaverit ac stultum, universa quae sibi fuerint a senioribus imperata sine ulla discussione perficiens, sacrosancta ea credens ac divinitus promulgata." Caesarius of Arles uses much the same language, Sermo 233,6 (ed. Morin I, p.882) "quidquid vobis a senioribus fuerit imperatum, sic accipite tamquam si de caelo sit ore dei prolatum. Nihil reprehendas, nihil discutias, in nullo penitus murmurare praesumas..."

16. attrahatur etc. The subject is "anima". With vagis ac vanis supply "vitiis ac laboribus" (line 13).

19-20. superbis ac duris. The adjectives are in the masculine gender, and to be construed with intolerabilis, illi (sc. "animae") being taken with consolatio.

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Page 179, line 2. martyrii felicitatem. According to Irish teach-

ing, the ascetic life formed a sort of martyrdom; cf. the old Erse homily, probably of the seventh century, in Stokes and Strachan, Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus II pp.246-7 "Now there are three kinds of martyrdom which are counted as a cross to man, that is to say, white martyrdom, and green martyrdom, and red martyrdom. This is the white martyrdom to man, when he separates for the sake of God from everything he loves, although he suffer fasting or labour thereat. This is the green martyrdom to him, when by means of them (fasting and labour) he separates from his desires, or suffers toil in penance and repentance. This is the red martyrdom to him, endurance of a cross or destruction for Christ's sake, as has happened to the Apostles in the persecution of the wicked and in teaching the law of God." This threefold division is peculiar to Ireland (cf. Ryan, Irish Monasticism p.198).

3. superveniens. Neuter, in agreement with aliud quid.

5. iuxta i.e. "alongside, in addition to" the practice of asceticism.

7. interpositorum His self-centred aims, which will get in the way of his obedience.

8. iussio sc. of his superior.

11. triplex ratio. The three parts of mortification are these:-
(1) to obey whole-heartedly, (2) to control the tongue and

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(3) to be directed by the confessor in all things. Cassian's classification, though expressed in different language, is at bottom very much the same, Inst. IV,39 (P.L.49,198 C foll.) "Humilitas vero his indiciis comprobatur: primo, si mortificatas in se habeat omnes voluntates; secundo, si non solum actuum suorum, verum etiam cogitationum, nihil suum celaverit seniore; tertio, si nihil suae discretionis, sed iudicio eius universa committat, ac monita eius sitiens ac libenter auscultet..."

12. non lingua libita loqui. "not to speak what pleases him with the tongue"; libita is neuter plural.

13. absolute i.e. "without restrictions".

14. contraria sc. to the inclinations of the disciple.

19. foll. Monachus in monasterio etc. The whole of this chapter is taken, with a few minor alterations, from Jerome Epist. 125,15 (P.L.22,1080). Benedict of Aniene correctly identifies it as "Dicta S. Hieronymi" in his Concordia (P.L. 103,743 A); but it is quite possible that Columban, who was well read in the works of Jerome, may have chosen to place the passage here, as a suitable summation of his rule; for plagiarism was scarcely reckoned as a sin by mediaeval authors, and we have already seen him borrow, equally without acknowledgement, from an earlier writer, the opening of his fifth sermon.

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Page 180, line 2. mansuetudinem. The word is thus defined in Rufinus' translation of Basil, Interrog. 47 (P.L.103,514 C)

"Quis est mansuetus ? Resp. Qui non transfertur a iudiciis suis, quibus statuit vel studet Deo placere."

3. operis sui pensum. The phrase recalls the conditions of the Egyptian monasteries, where each monk often had an allotted portion of work (usually basket-making) to perform in his own cell.

4-5. Lassus...dormitet. cf. Reg. Macarii cap. 8 (P.L.103, 449 A) "ambulans quasi dormitans, lassus ad stratum tuum venias."

6. compellatur. Here three sentences follow in Jerome, which Columban has chosen to omit -- "Dicis psalmum in ordine tuo, in quo non dulcedo vocis, sed mentis affectus quaeritur, dicente apostolo, Psallam spiritu, psallam et mente, et Cantantes in cordibus vestris domino. Legerat enim esse praeceptum, Psallite sapienter. Servias fratribus, hospitum laves pedes."

6-7. Passus iniuriam etc. cf. Reg. Macarii cap.21 (P.L.103, 450 A) "Passus iniuriam taceas"; and cap.7 (ib. 448 A) "Praepositum monasterii timeas ut dominum, diligas ut parentem."

8. maioris. i.e. "senioris".

11. Cod. A here adds a further extract from the same letter of Jerome, but the evidence of the other MSS is against this addition, and the present ending, recalling as it does the

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opening words of chapter I, makes a fitting conclusion to the whole. Smaragdus (P.L.102,927 A) and Benedict of Aniane (P.L.103,1365-6) both quote an otherwise unknown passage as being "ex Regula sancti Columbani": it prohibits the monks from making favourites of their relations, and if genuine, it may possibly belong to a lost continuation of the present chapter; but in view of the MS tradition, this seems to be extremely improbable.

REGULA COENOBIALIS.

Probably written at Luxeuil, circa 595-600 A.D. Chapters X to the end, together with the passages placed in double brackets in the text, are later additions made by Columban's successor; see Intro. chap. III sect. 4. The whole appears to be a series of notes of disciplinary decisions, preserved as precedents for future use, and taken down by a secretary at different times; but in substance it must represent Columban's practice, and behind him, that of his Irish teachers.

Page 181, lines 2 foll. This summary list of contents refers to the shorter recension of the Rule; it is found only in the St Gall MS and in the text of Fleming, who places the individual sections separately at the head of their respective chapters.

2. lectorum (confessione) i.e. "bed-time confession"; on p.184,15, the meaning is more clearly specified ("ante lectorum introitum"), but there is no need to introduce the word "introitum" here, as Seebass proposes to do.

9-10. et qui...orationem. This clause, which appears in the MS, has strangely been omitted by Seebass in his transcript; it refers to p.186,19 below.

Page 182, line 13. visitator. i.e. "qui visitaverit alios fratres in cellulis eorum" (p.193,1).

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Page 183, line 8. foras. Proleptic; he takes it out of doors and forgets it there. Fleming reads "foris".

Page 184, line 12. Diversitas culparum. This opening of the longer recension is taken from the initial words of Paen. B (p.210,14).

12. paenitentiae medicamento. For the phrase, cf. Jonas 1,5 -- "penitentiae medicamenta...vix vel paucis in ea (sc. Gallia) repperiebatur locis." There are several reminiscences of the Reg. Coen. in this chapter of Jonas.

15. confessionem. Basil, transl. Rufinus, Interrog. 21 (P.L.103,508 B-C) enjoins that confession be made only to priests; the Irish seem to have permitted lay "seniors", and even women, to act as confessors, but as Fleming in his note points out, the reference here is probably to a public and general, not to a sacramental, confession of sins. The present passage suggests that one confession per diem is intended by the Rule; the Penitential (p.220,2) also recommends confession before Mass, but as this was not celebrated daily, no mention of it is made here; in the daughter-houses of Luxeuil, three confessions were made each day (Jonas II,19).

17. capitalibus criminibus etc. This addition seems to have been borrowed from Caesarius of Arles, Sermo 235,4 (ed. Morin I p.891) "non solum capitalia crimina caveamus, sed etiam parvas neglegentias cotidie quasi venena diaboli respuamus."

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18. de morte liberant. Irish teaching emphasized the power of penance to atone for every sin; Finnian concludes his Penitential with the words (sect. 53) "Finit istud opusculum, quod coaptavit Venniaus...ut ab omnibus omnia deleantur hominibus facinora."

Page 185, line 4. percussionibus. These were inflicted with a leather strap on the hand; cf. Monastery of Tallaght, Sect. 37, ed. Gwynn and Purton, in Proc. R. Irish Acad. 1911, C p.142, "a hundred blows on thy hand...with a scourge." Corporal punishment is never mentioned in the Irish civil Laws; the Western monks copied it from the Egyptians, but Benedict restricts its use chiefly to boys (Reg. cap.30) and the otherwise incorrigible (cap. 23). In Columban's monasteries, twenty-five was the maximum number of strokes that could be given at one time (see p.194,10-1 below).

4. emendare sc. "culpam".

8. coclear. Spoons would be particularly necessary in eating the simple vegetarian diet described in Reg. Mon. cap. III. This passage, together with that on p.186,19 foll., provided material for the charges which Agrestius made against the usages of Columban's monasteries, at the synod of Macon in 626-7 (Jonas II,9). For saining with the cross, cf. Jonas II,2,9 and 19; Adamnan II,16 and 29; Jerome, Epist. 22,37

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(P.L.22,421) "ad omnem actum, ad omnem incessum, manus pingat Domini crucem"; and lines 11 foll. below.

9. plausu. The word signifies any loud noise produced by beating or clapping, usually of the hands or wings, but here of the tongue.

9-10. altiore sono solito. i.e. "a sound louder than usual"; Reg. Mon. cap.II (p.164,7-8) enjoins that "cum cautela et ratione loquendum est."

13. suum proprium. cf. Basil, transl. Rufinus, Interrog. 29 (P.L.103,510 C) "Si quis vero proprium sibi esse dicit aliquid sine dubio alienum se facit ab electis Dei..." also Caesarius of Arles, Reg. SS. Virg. 17 (ed. Morin II p.105) "Nemo sibi aliquid iudicet proprium" etc. and Cassian Inst. IV, 13 (P.L.49,168 A) "...ut ne verbo quidem audeat quis dicere aliquid suum, magnumque sit crimen ex ore monachi processisse ...proque hoc digna poenitentia satisfactorius sit..." Jonas describes the community of possessions amongst Columban's followers in the following terms (I,5) "Communia omnibus omnia erant; si quispiam proprium aliquid usurpare temptasset, ceterorum consortio segregatus penitentiae ultione vindicabatur."

15. pertunderit. As would be easy in the absence of individual plates.

17. coquinandi. This vernacular form is favoured by Plautus, rather than the more classical "coquere".

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19. cursum The "vigiliae matutinae" described in Reg. Mon. cap.VII. This type of punishment appears also in the Rules of Macarius (cap.26 -- P.L.103,450 C) and Benedict (cap.44), but in connection with more serious faults.
20. humiliationem. i.e. "genuflexion". (see p.197,9-11).

Page 186, line 1. synaxi, id est...cursu. cf. p.168,2.

3. perdiderit. Presumably by failing to collect the crumbs after a meal.
7. transgressione securitatis. i.e. "careless handling".
9. ad duodecimam. The twelfth hour of the day, i.e. vespers ("ad initium noctis", as it is also called), for which twelve psalms are prescribed on p.170,2 above.
11. metranos. This word, meaning "measures", does not appear in any earlier author.
12. cervisa. Of Celtic origin, and signifying a sort of beer, the word is also spelt "cerves(i)a". The Irish Lives indicate that beer and other liquors were sometimes permitted in the monasteries of Ireland; cf. Stokes, Lives of the Saints from the Book of Lismore, 2678 (p.227) "Rúadán of Lothra had a lime-tree, a tree from which there used to drop a sweet-tasted fluid, in which everyone would find the flavour which he desired, and the monks used to benefit their guests thereby, wherefore the monks of Ireland were yearning to Rúadán," and numerous other references.

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13-4. tot diebus. i.e. a sufficient number of his own daily rations to make good the loss. This method of making up what was lost is implied by the story which Jonas tells (I,16), of how the cellarer, rushing in the fervour of obedience to obey some summons, left the cock of his beer-barrel open, and how the flow of beer was miraculously stopped, "ne, si fratrum substantiam et imperantis et oboedientis ardor diminuisset, ambo se a licitis alimentis abdicassent."

17. discubitu. i.e. while seated at table, when the fault was committed.

19. egrediens. For this custom of prayer on entering and leaving, cf. Jerome Epist. 22,37 (P.L.22,421) "Egredientes de hospitio armet oratio; regredientibus de platea oratio occurrat antequam sessio; nec prius corpusculum requiescat, quam anima pascatur."

Page 187, line 1, crucem. The Irish were accustomed to place standing crosses at doorways, cross-roads, and other frequented spots, as is evident from details in the Saints' Lives, and from the (later) remains at e.g. Iona. The offence here seems to be failure to approach such a cross, when passing, for a brief prayer.

5. orationem petens. Either "asking (the brethren to assist him with their) prayer"; or, less probably, "asking (God to give him grace in his own) prayer."

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7. haec omnia. i.e. the various negligences listed in the present paragraph.

7-8. usque ad superpositionem. Faults for which the total penalty would amount to a "superpositio"; this represents an intensified or prolonged form of the particular type of punishment concerned, which may be either fasting (as in Monastery of Tallaght, Sect. 69, ed. Gwynn and Purton, p.156), or silence (as on p.188,13 below), or psalm-singing (as in Canones Hibernenses II,1, in Wasserschleben, Bussordnungen p.139).

8. semipaenitentia. This term, while obvious in its meaning to Columban's followers, is now no longer clear to us; it seems to mean that the delinquent was placed under a penitential discipline, and not merely punished with an immediate application of the strap, but that this discipline was less severe (and hence it is called media) than that undergone by the professed penitents, who had come to the monastery to expiate some notorious sin.

9. interim sc. "statuitur", and translate "for the time of his penance."

10. tusse i.e. "owing to a cough"; Cassian, Inst. II,10 (P.L. 49,97-8), is careful to notice the quiet of the Egyptian psalmody -- "non tussis intersonat" etc.

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12. calicem. Chalices were sometimes made of glass, and would thus easily be broken; cf. Plummer, Vitae SS. Hib. I, p. 117. But according to the Life of St Gall (auctore Walahfrido, M.G.H. Script. Rer. Merov. IV p. 299), Columban preferred a much more solid material -- "praeceptor meus beatissimus Columbanus in vasis aeneis Domino solet sacrificium offerre salutis, quia fertur et Salvator noster clavis aeris cruci confixus."

12. salutaris. Neuter, meaning "salvation", as elsewhere in ecclesiastical Latin; but the summary of contents (p. 181, 15) reads "calicem domini", and this suggests that perhaps "salvatoris" should be the reading here.

13. Ordinem ad sacrificium i.e. the ritual of the Mass. "Sacrificium" was originally applied to all the spiritual exercises of Christians, and it is even found in Jerome (Epist. 107, 9 -- P.L. 22, 875) as a description of evening prayer; but throughout the Regula Coenobialis it refers either to the Eucharistic Sacrifice, as here, or else to the consecrated Host.

16. rustro. "perhaps altar" (J.H. Baxter, Word-list s.v.). Personally, I believe that the phrase refers to those who come direct to the Sacrament from working in the fields, and that either the word is to be translated "plough" ("rostrum" occasionally refers to the tip of the plough-share, though not

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without some indication from the context), or else that "rastro" ("hoe") should be read, following the text of Holstenius' Codex Regularum.

16. sacrificium...accedentem. The two participial clauses are identical in meaning, and are probably the result of a conflation of two separate additions.

17. subridens sc. "fuerit", or else "non bene decantaverit" from line 10 above.

19. superpositione. See note on lines 7-8 above. It is probable that the word, when used alone, should take its meaning from the context; in which case, it will denote a severe or prolonged whipping in the present passage, as Fleming in his note suggests.

19. veniabiliter. It is pleasant to find this admission that a legitimate excuse for innocent amusement might arise.

Page 188, line 3. chrismal. As on pp.193,18 and 202,7 below, this signifies some receptacle for the consecrated Host, which the monks were accustomed to carry with them on a journey. Comgall sometimes wore it while working in the fields (Plummer, Vitae SS. Hib. II, p.11); two short prayers for the blessing of a chrismal are found in the Pontifical of Egbert (Surtees Soc. XXVII) p.48.

4-5. quinqueis i.e. "quinquies".

6. in ligno...levaverit. "hung it on the branch of a tree."

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7. Eulogias. The word frequently means "gifts", e.g. in the Rule of Benedict, cap.54 (P.L.66,767 B) "Nullatenus liceat monacho...litteras, eulogias vel quaelibet munuscula accipere aut dare..." Here, however, the mention of "inmundus" suggests that it refers to the blest bread, which, though not consecrated, was sometimes placed on the altar beside the Communion elements; cf. Paulinus of Nola Epist. 5,21, Gregory of Tours Hist. Franc. V,14 and Adamnan II,13 "in refectorio eulogiam frangere." Menard (P.L.103,1223) comments "Eulogiae panes sunt qui in ecclesia a sacerdote benedicuntur, olimque distruebantur iis qui...diebus festis et dominicis non sumebant eucharistiam."

8. oblationem facere. This presumably means, to prepare the elements before the commencement of Mass (itur ad officium in line 9); the preparation might be made on Saturday night for the following Sunday, cf. p.195, 20 foll. below.

13. superpositione silentii. An intensification of the rule of silence, by forbidding speech at the time normally allowed for recreation; with the result that the offender would be "sent to Coventry" for a day or more. The monks seem to have regarded corporal punishment as lighter and preferable to this; but although the words aut L percussionibus follow both here and at line 20 below, we must not assume that 50 strokes is the exact equivalent of one "superpositio" -- more

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probably, these penalties represent a maximum and minimum, between which it is left to the superior's discretion to choose.

14. proferens is equivalent to "Si proferat"; hence et non dicat in the following line.

14 & 17. cum simplicitate. i.e. without the deliberate intention of giving offence; in Paen. A 9 (p.209,19-20)

"simpliciter" is contrasted with "ex intentione", and the same penalty is appointed, with the alternative of a "superpositio", if the fault is committed of intent.

19. sermonem altum. cf. Caesarius of Arles, Reg. SS. Virg. 9 (ed. Morin II p.104) "Numquam altiori voce loquantur."

Page 189, line 1. ad veniam. i.e. "with a view to obtaining pardon"; obedience would demand the unquestioning acceptance of a punishment awarded by the superior.

2. responderit. Jonas (I,5) thus describes the temper of Columban's followers: "Nullus proximo contrarietatem rependere, nullus asperum sermonem proferre audebat..."

4. simpliciter. See note on p.188, 14 & 17 above.

5. coequali. But in no circumstances must a monk venture to correct his seniors.

16. requiei humilitatis. cf. Reg. Mon. cap. IX (p.178,12-3) "Humilitas enim cordis requies animae est."

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17. contradictionis...aperiens. The phrase is repeated from Reg. Mon. cap. I (p.162,11).

20. bona...cognoscatur. Repeated, with a slight change of order, from the same passage (p.162,15); this complete seclusion appears to be a severer penalty than the "semipaenitentia" of p.187,8 above, and it includes the suspension from participating in the Divine Office which is mentioned in the Reg. Mon.

Page 190, line 4. hostiarii. It appears that the door-keeper was responsible for ringing the call to prayer and meals; some of the ancient bells used for this purpose still survive.

6. abscondit. He should have pointed out the fault privately and at once, in order that the other might have opportunity to amend; this and the following offences, which strike at the foundations of discipline and of mutual charity, are visited with particularly heavy penalties.

7. de ipso. i.e. a recurrence of the same fault.

10. Proferens etc. The offence is answering back when corrected; cf. Caesarius of Arles, Reg. SS. Virg. 13 (ed. Morin II p.104) "Quae pro qualibet culpa ammonetur, castigatur, corripitur, arguenti respondere penitus non praesumat."

14. detrahit. Detraction is defined by Basil, transl. Rufinus, Interrog. 42 (P.L. 103,513 D) "Quicumque dicit aliquid adversus alium, ut vel deroget ei, vel obtrectet,

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istud est detrahere; etiamsi vera esse videantur quae dicit."

The same penalty, of three "superpositiones", is also appointed in Paen. A 10 (p.210,2 foll.); Basil, Interrog. 43 (P.L. 103,513 D), recommends excommunication -- "Qui detrahit fratri, aut audit detrahentem et patitur, quid dignus est ? Resp. Excommunicari debet..."

16. cum tristitia. The fact that sorrow is expressed does not reduce the guilt of detraction, or the punishment for it.

18. praeposito. The "praepositus" was normally a senior who had charge of a group of monks within the monastery (Jonas I, 10 etc.); the pater senior (line 19) is the Abbot. In the longer recension (p.192, 1 etc.) "pater senior" is replaced by "abbas".

20. confessione verecundiae. If the offences come to light through the offender's own true confession, his punishment will be less severe.

Page 191, line 1 foll. tristis fuerit. A monk suffering from melancholy is to be restrained from confession, if he can be persuaded to hold his peace (si sustinere valet, line 2 -- the melancholiac is often only too ready to accuse himself), in order that he may make a more balanced statement when he is restored to health of mind. The additions of the longer recension have here obviously been incorporated from marginal notes; the phrase orent pro eo fratres (line 4) is a reasonable

comment on the passage as a whole, but makes nonsense when placed after the words quando tristitia cessaverit.

6. in loco optimo. Since anchorites were held in particular honour by the Irish, and the invitation here is to join a community (nobiscum...aut cum aliquibus in line 7), this phrase is best to be taken as referring to a hermitage; but it may simply denote a monastery of strict obedience, from which it would be wrong to solicit desertions (see the note on p.9,20 above, and cf. Reg. SS. Patrum Orientalium, P.L.103, 439 D, "Non licebit de alio monasterio, sine voluntate eius qui praeest patris, fratres recipere.")

10. consanguineum docet. The offence here described seems to consist in diverting a brother's attention from the task assigned by his senior, to a study of the scripture lesson for the day (ut melius lectionem discat in lines 11-2); and the passage is taken in this sense by the summary of the chapter (p.182,11 -- "De eo qui docet consanguineum suum contra seniore suum"). For the practice of committing lessons to memory, cf. Caesarius, Rég. SS. Virg. 66 (ed. Morin II p.120) "lectiones decem et octo memoriter dicendae sunt."

13. praepositum. See the note on p.190,18; here, the official in question may be the same as the "oeconomus" of line 20, as in Vitae SS. Hib. (ed. Plummer) I p.30, II p.212.

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14. noster senior is again the Abbot; the fault is that described in Paen. A II (p.210,5 foll.) with the words "Qui autem per superbiam suum praepositum dispexerit," and the punishment there enjoined is expulsion.

19. detentus. i.e. ordered to continue at his work.

Page 192, line 1. in alterius causa. i.e. if he is protesting against another being overworked.

2. iteras sc. "mandatum".

7. interrogare debitum. After the evening confession, each must ascertain the amount of penance which he is required to perform, and he must not wait until morning before doing so.

9. secundus. The senior "praepositus", or Abbot's deputy; on p.196,11, the word means "sub-chantor".

10. Cursus...aut saltus. Translate "journeys or detours", and supply "Qui facit" to complete the sense.

10-1. Prohibetur...manum. cf. p.205,19 and Cass. Inst. II,15 (P.L.49,106A) "Summa namque observantia custoditur ne quisquam cum alio ac praecipue iuniores vel ad punctum temporis pariter substituisse aut uspiam secessisse vel manus suas invicem tenuisse deprehendantur."

12. humanitate. The monks at Luxeuil possessed "oportuna aptaque loca" (Jonas I,19) for the entertainment of guests, outside the enclosed part of the monastery; for hospitality at Iona, see Adamnan I,26.

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17. utensilia. i.e. the guests' luggage.

17. parata. The true text is probably "parato", to be construed with "custodi".

19. ad iudicium sacerdotis. The phrase, or something like it, appears in the Penitential (p.211,20 etc.), but in the Regula Coenobialis it occurs only in passages of the longer recension, and the monastic discipline did not of course necessarily require the ministrations of a priest.

20. postulat veniam. A comment on this passage is found in the Life of Comgall, sect. 23 (Plummer, Vitae SS. Hib. II, p.11) "Mos erat in monasteriis sancti patris Comgalli, ut si quis alium increparet, quamvis ille esset culpabilis aut inculpabilis, statim qui increpebatur genua humiliter flecteret."

Page 193, line 1. cellulis. The cells of the Irish monasteries held two to seven monks, or sometimes even more; see Ryan, Irish Monasticism p.290 note 4.

2. sine interrogatione. i.e. without asking the permission of his superior.

6. Iuenculi. The monastic schools played a large part in Irish education, even for those who were not destined to become monks; under the system of fosterage (cf. Ancient Laws of Ireland I pp.41 and 49) an abbot was often chosen as foster-

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father, and numerous boys might be entrusted to his care. Fosterage ended at the age of seventeen, when the youth would either return to his relatives, or else decide to adopt the profession of a monk.

6. terminus. The word may perhaps represent some period of probation or form of punishment; or else, it refers to the part of the day prior to the time allowed for recreation.

9. quis. i.e. one of the monks or "praepositi".

18. crismal. See the note on p.188,3; and Paen. Cummeani XIII,9 (Wasserschleben p.490) "Qui perdiderit suum crismal aut solum sacrificium in regione qualibet, ut non inveniatur, III XLmas vel unum annum peniteat." Here the offence is not losing, but simply dropping, the crismal.

20. otiosum. Rufinus, translating Basil, thus defines the meaning of the word, Interrog. 40 (P.L.103,513 A) "Generaliter omnis sermo, qui non proficit ad aliquam gratiam fidei Christi, otiosus est."

Page 194, line 1. condemnari. sc. "statuitur". Again, it seems that the silence and the blows are alternative, and not necessarily equivalent, penalties.

4. non lavent. Even apart from penitents, bathing was discouraged in the monasteries; cf. Paen. B 27 (p.219,6 foll. below) and Aug. Epist. 211 (C.S.E.L. 57, p.367) "lavacrum etiam corporum ususque balnearum non sit assiduus, sed eo quo solet

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temporis intervallo tribuatur, hoc est semel in mense."

5. quinta decima die quaque. The manuscripts read, with some variations, "XV diebus"; but the emendation which I have introduced could very easily have been corrupted, when abbreviated to "XVa die qq". The meaning is that the penitent brethren, if they do not wash once a week on Sundays, should wash every fifteenth day (i.e. once a fortnight), or else invoke the judgement of their senior in the matter.

6. fluentium capillorum. The Celtic tonsure, covering the forehead only, permitted a considerable growth of hair on the back part of the head.

7. Declinatio de via. Presumably this refers to a monk who turns aside without permission, when a party is travelling outside the monastery, perhaps to or from the opera sordida (line 4) of farm-work.

10. scierit. i.e. if the offence comes to the senior's notice at table, he should impose the punishment on the spot.

10-1. amplius quam XXV. A larger number is permitted by Aurelian of Arles, Reg. ad Monachos 41 (P.L.68,392 A) "si necesse fuerit flagelli accipere disciplinam, nunquam legitimus excedatur numerus, id est triginta et novem"; "forty stripes save one" was the number sanctioned by Jewish usage (cf. II Cor. 11,24).

15. visionis. sc. "necesse fuerit" (from line 13). The penance appointed in the sequel would vary in proportion to the offender's consent to his evil dream.

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18. ergo. Since these psalms are being recited as a penance, therefore the penitents must genuflect at the conclusion of each, even during the seasons when this ceremony was normally omitted; for the omission, on the eves of Sundays and at Eastertide, cf. Cass. Inst. II, 18 (P.L. 49, 110 A) "Hoc quoque nosse debemus, a vespera sabbati, quae lucescit in diem dominicum, usque ad vesperam sequentem apud Aegyptios genua non curvari; sed nec totis quidem Quinquagesimae diebus, nec custodiri in eis ieiuniorum regulam."

20 foll. Si cui iniunxerit etc. In order to make the passage intelligible, I have emended "de" to idem, and "iter agere" to iteraverit on line 1 of the following page. Translate "If a monk, who has received an order from the abbot or praepositus, passes on the same order to the brethren, the rule is that the junior must obey the senior; yet he must study to ensure whether the message that he gives them be correct." The meaning is thus that orders transmitted by an intermediary have the authority of the official from whom they originate; but the intermediary must take pains to transmit them correctly.

Page 195, lines 3-4. abbas...economus maior...humilior economus.

These various grades do not appear in the original writings of Columban, and in his time the organization of the monasteries was both simpler and more flexible. The humilior economus seems to have been a sort of under-bursar.

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4. ipse. i.e. the monk who finally receives the order, and is obliged to act upon it, or in other words, the iunior of line 1; although its purport has been altered in transmission by the under-bursar (aliud iteraverit), he must none the less do exactly as he is told, indicating silently what he believes to have been the intention of the original command.

6. infra monasterium. i.e. in the immediate vicinity of the monastery; here the abbot alone should issue orders.

8. commutatio vestimenti. One set of clothing is prescribed for use by day, and a change for the night, making two in all; cf. Cass Conl. IX, 5 (P.L. 49,776 B).

9. intermutentur separatim. The manuscript reading, "interrogentur", may easily have arisen by confusion with interroget in line 12; if correct, it is only intelligible on the assumption that a passage dealing with the regular examination of conscience has fallen out of the text of C. This Co attempts, not very successfully, to supply, but it seems simpler to emend as I have ventured to do, in which case the words enjoin that the change of clothing is to be made in private (compare the modesty of the regulations for bathing in Paen. B 27, p.219, 6 foll.).

10. ad lavachrum. There is no mention in Jonas or the other sources of a ritual washing of the feet, and it is therefore probable that the passage simply refers to the normal ablutions of the celebrant (cf. p.196,1) and servers.

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12. Interroget tamen. Although no more formality is required than a prayer, or simply to cross himself, the monk should, however, ask permission before going out.

16-7. Ita...faciat. The monk is also to cross himself when meeting someone as he walks, and to request their prayers by a genuflection (that this is the meaning of se humilians is implied by the following sentence).

20. oblationem i.e. the elements for the celebration on the following day.

Page 196, line 1. commutare. sc. "vestimenta statuitur" and cf. p.195,8.

2. praeceptum. Both here and in line 5 below, it seems that this refers to a sermon, or the reading of an exhortation; the word may also mean the invitation to prayer at the commencement of the Mass (cf. DuCange s.v.), but the penitents would be expected to kneel rather than to stand (line 5) at that point. For the regular use of preaching on Sundays, cf. Paen. B 29 (p.219,16), where the word "praeceptum" also appears (line 18).

3. ministerium oportunum. This does not refer to the reading of the Gospel by the deacon (which would normally precede the sermon), but to whatever assistance the celebrant may require them to render, at any point in the liturgy.

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5. stare. The penitents are obliged to stand during sermon, when the rest of the congregation would be permitted to sit.

7. sonum sedere. "The signal to sit down" would be appropriately given on the greater festivals (line 6); when the sermon might be considerably longer than the usual; on these days, the penitents are permitted to sit, when the sermon is about half-way through (pene mediante).

8. Deinde. This introduces the next point in order, not in temporal sequence. The call to prayer was given by means of a hand-bell; cf. Adamn. I,8 "cloccam pulsa. Cuius sonitu fratres incitati ad ecclesiam...ocius currunt."

8-9. sinaxim...conventus. i.e. "the synaxis which begins the services of the day," the morning vigils being the first of the daily offices.

10-1. Primarius...secundus. Translate "A precentor will be appointed, to take up the psalm, and a sub-chantor."

11. non flectatur genu on the greater festivals (line 6).

12. priores. The seniors are to occupy the centre of the chapel, the remainder, with the exception of the celebrant and server, lining the sides.

14. ymnus. This was probably chosen from the collection in the Antiphonary of Bangor, one of which Jonas (II,16) describes Burgundofara as using in the convent which she founded under the inspiration of Columban.

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18. tales. i.e. "indocti"; these and the novices are to receive communion in one kind only. Two boys are found receiving the Sacrament in Lives of the Saints from the Book of Lismore 2348 (ed. Stokes p.217).

20. preter necessitatem. i.e. in addition to the necessary minimum number of communions which he is required to make.

Page 197, line 2. ipse. i.e. by himself alone.

2-3. aliqua...cogente. This gives the reason for qui non fuerit in line 1; the cook and porter are permitted to be absent, when detained on duty (p.219,18-9).

3. discurratur. Journeys are discouraged at the time of Mass.

5-6. hora tertia. This implies that the monks were normally allowed to break their fast in the morning, when travelling; penitents, however, must then take a smaller meal than the remainder, but their rations may be made up at the end of the day (ubi quiescat, line 7).

9. omnium psalmorum. Each separate psalm is to be followed by a genuflection; cf. Ryan, Irish Monasticism pp.345 and 400.

14. aequaliter. All rise "at the same moment."

15. excepto. By an extension of its use to govern a dependent clause, the word is here treated simply as a preposition.

16. sancti paschae. In the Epistles, "pascha" is sometimes indeclinable, sometimes feminine, and sometimes neuter; here it is given the feminine declension, and the neuter gender.

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20 foll. Si quis frater etc. Certain peculiarities of vocabulary indicate that the remaining chapters are a later addition to Columban's original Rule; cf. Intro. chap. III sect.4.

Page 198, line 1. paxmate. See note on p.164,14; the other form, "paxmatium", appears in the following line. In Paen. A 9 (p.209,17 foll.) the same offences are punished by a variable number of "superpositiones"; they have already been treated in the preceding sections of the present Rule.

5-6. contenderint aliquid. "have had some argument."

7. contendit mendacium. "contentiously affirms a falsehood."

8. distinctionem. "difference of opinion."

19. decliderit. "destroyed".

Page 199, line 3. sine iussu. cf. Caesarius of Arles, Reg. SS.

Virginum 8 (ed. Morin II p.104) "Nemo sibi aliquid operis vel artificii pro suo libitu eligat faciendum, sed in arbitrio senioris erit quod utile prospexerit imperandum." In Paen. A 9 (p.209,16) the penalty for this offence is three "superpositiones".

6. manducaverit. When absent on a journey, short enough to permit him to return home (domui suae) to eat.

8. praeteritum peccatum. In view of the context, this most probably refers to unedifying tales of the speaker's own past.

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10. dicit. cf. Reg. Orient. 23 (P.L.103,480 C) "Et omnino quidquid foris gesserint, in monasterio narrare non praesumant."

13. consentit a confessione. i.e. "agrees (to refrain) from reporting it."

17. ille. The brother who refuses to forgive.

18-9. Si quis voluerit etc. The situation envisaged seems to be this, that a monk requests some privilege, which the oeconomus refuses to grant, and he then goes behind the latter's back to the Abbot to obtain his request, instead of accepting the first decision in complete obedience.

Page 200, lines 3-5. Si transgressus...psalmos. Translate "If he has failed to keep an Hour, (he is to sing a penance of) fifteen psalms, songs of degrees (i.e. those so entitled in the Psalter), unless it be matins in winter, (when the penance is) twelve psalms." Nisi is equivalent to "sed si"; in winter-time, it would be easier to over-sleep, and the punishment is then slightly less.

7. cingulum. The Benedictines also were accustomed to sleep girded; cf. Reg. Bened. 22 (P.L.66,489 C) "Vestiti dormiant, et cincti cingulis aut funibus." Palladius mentions a similar prohibition of attending Mass in the girdle, Hist. Lausiaca 38 (P.G.34,1099 D) 'Επισκοπότες δὲ εἰς τὴν κοινωσίαν τῶν

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μυστηρίων τοῦ Χριστοῦ κατὰ Σάββατον καὶ Κυριακὴν τὰς ζῶνας
λύετ'ωσαν, καὶ τὴν μηλωτὴν ἀποτιθέσθωσαν, καὶ μετὰ κουκουλλίου
μόνου ἐισίτωσαν.

9. quarta sextaque feria. The provisions of Reg. Mon. III (p.164,11 foll.) seem to imply a daily fast until nones; here, Columban's successors have permitted a relaxation of the fast on all days except Wednesdays and Fridays, which are also designated as fast-days in the Rule of Benedict cap.41 (P.L. 66,656 D foll.)

12. duos dies in pane et aqua. This is treated as a severer penalty than 50 strokes, which implies an improvement in the diet as compared with that provided in Reg. Mon. III (p.164,11 foll.).

14-5. dormierit in una domo cum muliere. The phrase would normally denote unchastity in the canonical texts of the period (cf. I.Gaudemet in Mélanges Colombaniens p.169); but it is incredible that a monk should not have known that fornication was forbidden (nescivit quod non debet, lines 15-6), and perhaps all that is meant is the acceptance of a night's shelter in a house where a woman was living.

16. claudit ecclesiam. -- at night; it was kept open during the day (Jonas I,17 and 20).

17. sputum. Cassian, Inst. II,10 (P.L. 49,97-8) describes as remarkable the orderly behaviour of the Egyptians at prayer, "...in qua non sputum emittitur, non exscretio obstrepat, non tussis intersonat..."

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Page 201, line 1. tardius. cf. Caesarius of Arles, Reg. SS.

Virg. 12 (ed. Morin II p.104) "Quae signo tacto tardius ad opus Dei vel ad opera venerit, increpationi ut dignum est subiacebit."

2. plausu. i.e. makes a loud noise on entering the oratory.

3. post pacem sonaverit. i.e. makes a sound after the final benediction of the day.

7. aliquid. sc. "habens"; on p.185,4-6, six instead of fifty strokes are the penalty for this and the previous offence, and the difference is one of the indications that the present chapter forms a later addition to the Rule.

10. ut...tenuerit. The amount of penance is to be apportioned to the length of time for which the offender has retained his anger or ill-will.

13. sacrificium. The monks were accustomed to carry the Reserved Sacrament with them when travelling; cf. pp.193,18 and 202,5 foll.

14 foll. neglegentiam. This passage refers to the monk whose duty it was to see that the breads of the Reserved Sacrament were changed with proper regularity.

Page 202, line 3. iacinctino. This rare word, signifying a deep purple, occurs in the Life of Comgall sect. 49 (Plummer, Vitae SS. Hib. II p.18), where an ugly baby, healed by the saint, becomes beautiful, "habens iacinctinos oculos."

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7. crismali. See notes on pp.188,3 and 193,18.

8. equo on which presumably the monk was fording a stream, since line 10 still envisages the dropping of the Sacrament into water.

11. exierit aqua. The words can only mean "has gone out (sc. from the bank) in, or on, the water."

14. evomuit. cf. Paen. A 6 (p.209,4 foll.), where the penance varies from 7 to 40 days.

14. coenam. i.e. the Lord's Supper; normally the word, when taken in this sense, requires to be qualified by "domini" or "dominica", but here the context makes the meaning sufficiently clear.

17 foll. Qui scit etc. Either the text is corrupted, or else the author's memory has made a serious lapse; the Biblical passage (I John 5,16) reads "Qui scit fratrem suum peccare peccatum non ad mortem, petat et dabitur ei vita... Est peccatum ad mortem, non pro illo dico ut roget quis."

19. ut expresses consequence; i.e. his penance is to last for as long a time as he has kept silence.

Page 203, line 5. arguit. sc. "fratrem peccantem".

6. plagis sc. "peniteat" (line 2); 7. psalmos sc. "canat" (3).

7. exprobrat. The word refers to a public reproof.

11. iussionis -- a specific command; disCIPLINAE generalis -- the standing code of conduct.

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17. ambasciam i.e. "journey"; also "legation" (cf. Italian "ambasciata", embassy).

19. Operis peculiaris praesumptio. The phrase is taken from Cass. Inst. IV,16 (P.L.49,173 A), and it denotes the undertaking of a task without orders (which was condemned on p.199,3 above) and for the sake of personal gain; cf. Caesarius of Arles, Reg. SS. Virg. 29 (ed. Morin II p.108) "Nulla sibi aliquid proprium operetur."

20. possessio. cf. Cass. Inst. IV,16 (P.L.49,173 A) "possessio rerum superfluarum, quae a caeteris fratribus non habentur"; both this and the previous offence, according to Cassian, "vel plagis emendantur, vel expulsione purgantur" (ib. 174 A). For Columban's teaching on poverty, see Reg. Mon. IV.

Page 204, line 5. Qui---plagis. The sentence is repeated from p.185,5, with the substitution -- characteristic of the longer recension of the Rule -- of plagis for "percussionibus"; the same difference is to be noted between the following line and the corresponding passage, p.185,10.

9. si aliter fuerit. Perhaps, "if there are extenuating circumstances."

11. dixisse. See note on p.185,13.

12. simpliciter. See note on p.188,14; in that passage, 50 strokes are appointed as the penalty.

19. arbitrio sacerdotis. See note on p.192,19.

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Page 205, line 1 to 206, line 4. This entire passage is taken, with some minor changes, from Cass. Inst. IV,16 (P.L.49,172 A-B). Most of the offences listed have already been discussed in the earlier portions of the Rule.

Page 206, line 2. iussione. sc."abbatis" (cf. line 4).

6. excesserit. cf. Reg. Mon. III (p.164,20 foll.) "Si enim modum abstinentia excesserit, vitium non virtus erit."

9-10. Hucusque...spiritalis Another quotation from the same chapter of Cassian (P.L.49,173 A).

10. a pluribus. This suggests public confession and open reproof in chapter, and differs from the secret and sacramental confession indicated by the words "arbitrio sacerdotis" on p.204,19.

15-8. Qui vero...detinetur. This passage is taken, with minor alterations, from Paen. A 11 (p.210,5 foll.).

18 foll. Verbosus etc. The paragraph is here repeated from Paen. A 12 (p.210,10-3). It seems to have been intended as the conclusion of the longer recension of the Rule (cf. "Amen" on p.207,2).

Page 207, line 1. destitutor -- "deserter", either spiritually, of the Rule, or physically, of the monastery.

3. silentii regula. cf. Reg. Mon. II (p.163,15) "Silentii regula diligenter custodienda decernitur." The passage is

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quoted by Donatus, cap.75 (P.L.87,296 D); and this, combined with certain echoes of it in the Sermons, shows that it is at least closely in line with Columban's thought.

4-6. omne...vitio. cf. Instr. II (p.100,8-9) "Mundemus itaque nos quantum praevalemus ab omni vitiorum labe."

8. dilacerationem absentium. The passage recalls Instr. XI (especially p.147,2-3) "otiosa passim verba proferre, et de absentibus detrahare."

11-6. Haec superum etc. The quasi-poetical diction of this concluding paragraph seems to be an attempt to copy the epistolary style of Columban. The text is uncertain, but my own emendation, rudiumque hominum in line 12, is at least closer to the manuscript reading than Seebass' suggestion, "relictaque humo".

13. atro i.e. "darkness"; for examples of this substantival use, see Thesaurus Ling. Lat. s.v., para. I sub fin.

PAENITENTIALE.

Probably written at Luxeuil, c.595-600 A.D. The first part, Penitential A, is, as I believe, earlier in date than the second; see Intro. chapter III sect.4. A has a short appendix on the sins of monks (canons 9-12); B deals separately with clerics and monks (1-12), laymen (13-25) and monks alone (26-end).

Page 208, line 2. Paenitentia vera etc. i.e. true penitence consists in not committing sins (in the present), but in lamenting what has been committed (in the past). The phrase, to which there is a parallel in Instr. III (p.104,16), was probably borrowed by Columban from Gregory the Great, Hom. in Evang. 34,15 (P.L.76,1256 B) "Poenitentiam quippe agere est et perpetrata mala plangere et plangenda non perpetrare"; but it appears earlier in Ambrose, Sermo 9 de Quadragesima (P.L.17, 655 A) "Poenitentia est et mala praeterita plangere et plangenda iterum non committere", and there is a partial similarity in a passage of Cassian, Conl. XX,5 (P.L.49,1154 A) "Poenitentiae...perfecta definitio est, ut peccata...nequaquam ulterius admittamus."

4. rumpit. i.e. "violates, makes void", the sense in which the word is commonly applied to the breaking of vows or treaties.

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5. a sanctis...patribus. Nearly half of the material in the following canons is traditional, the Penitential of Finnian providing the chief source; for a lively picture of the administration of penance by a Celtic abbot, see Adamnan, Vit. Col. passim.

8 foll. Si quis igitur etc. This canon is fairly closely modelled on Finnian, 1-3 (Wasserschleben, Bussordnungen p.108) "Si quis in corde suo per cogitationem peccaverit et confestim penituerit, percutiat pectus suum et petat a Deo veniam et satisfaciat, ut sanus sit. (2) Si autem frequenter cogitaverit...petat a Deo veniam per orationem et ieiunium diebus et noctibus, donec evanescat maligna cogitatio et sanus sit. (3) Si quis cogitaverit et voluit facere, sed sua facultas prohibuit eum, unum est peccatum sed non eadem penitentia, verbi gratia, si fornicationem voluerit aut homicidium...iam peccavit in corde suo...Penitentia eius ipsa est dimidium annum per mensuram, et annum totum abstineat se a vino et a carnibus."

10. clam comedere. i.e. break his fast secretly, before the appointed meal-time; Cassian has several instances of the fierce temptations suffered in this respect, especially by the younger monks.

11. discedere. i.e. leave the monastery; cf. lines 17-8.

15. X annis. Finnian (Sect. 23) appoints the same period for homicide committed by a cleric (a case which is

specifically considered in B 1 below). "Si quis clericus homicidium fecerit...X annis extorem fieri oportet et agat penitentiam VII annorum in alio orbe." The Canons of Patrick (Haddan and Stubbs, Councils II pp.328-31) give much lighter penances -- e.g. 1 year for manslaughter, fornication or consulting sooth-sayers, and half a year for an act of theft; Haddan and Stubbs (loc. cit.) date these to the eighth century, but Bury and MacNeill (in Revue Celtique 39, p.259) accept them as genuine. The Canones Hibernenses (Wasserschleben, Bussordnungen p.136) appoint 14 years for parricide, 7-10 for homicide, 7 for adultery -- all "in pane et aqua". In the case of homicide, monetary compensation (the "eric" fine of Irish law) is prohibited by Numbers 35,31; the Church seems to have tried to introduce the death penalty in the time of Patrick, but it failed, and a compromise was the result (cf. Ancient Laws of Ireland, I pp.9 foll.).

16. si fornicaverit. Finnian (10,11 and 36) deals with the subject at greater length, and with a more complicated scheme of penances "(10) Si quis autem ruina fornicationis ceciderit et clericus fuerit, coronam suam perdiderit, et si semel hoc contingeret et celatum est hominibus sed notuit coram Deo, annum integrum peniteat cum pane et aqua per mensuras et duobus annis abstineat se a vino et carnibus, sed officium clericatus non amittat... (11) Si autem in consuetudine multo tempore peccati fuerat et in nocentiam hominum non venerat,

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tribus annis peniteat cum pane et aqua et officium clericatus amittat, et aliis tribus abstineat se a vino et carnibus...

(36) Si quis laicus maculaverit uxorem proximi sui aut virginem, annum integrum peniteat...et...tunc recipiatur ad communionem et det helimosinam pro anima sua..."

17. monachus. This cannot refer to the commission of sin by a person who was previously a monk -- the penance in such a case is 5 years (p.212,7 below); the meaning is that the offender must become a monk (i.e. enter a monastery) for the period of his penance.

18. vota. Mention of formal monastic vows is rare in the insular literature of the period; but cf. Gildas, De Excidio II, 7,2 (P.L.69,353 B) "post monachi votum inritum," and Adamnan II,39 "votum monachicum devotus vovit," and I,32 "votum monachiale voverunt."

20. furatus fuerit. The text of Finnian (25-6) is more closely copied in B 7 (see note on p.212,20 foll.)

Page 209, line 1. periuraverit. Finnian (22) gives what is substantially the same penance, but with additions (one of which appears in B 5) "Si quis autem iuraverit iuramentum falsum, magnum est crimen, aut vix aut non potest redemi...Penitentia eius haec est: in primo nunquam in vita sua iurare debere... et agere penitentiam VII annorum et de reliquo vite sue bene facere..."

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2. percusserit. Finnian (8 and 9) appoints 1 year for a cleric, 40 days and a money compensation for a layman; cf. p.213,14. rixam. A simple quarrel, which does not come to blows, is punished by 7 days' penance in the longer recension of the Reg. Coen. (p.206,14); a violent argument, by two (p.198,5).

4. vomuerit. B 12 (p.214,6) appoints a penance of 120 days, whereas 20 is the maximum in the Reg. Coen. (p.202,14). Gildas (Praef. de Pen. 7 -- *Wasserschleben*, p.106) prefers the punishment of "superpositiones" -- "Si monachus exundante ventre evomerit sacrificium in die, cenam suam non presumat, et si non infirmitatis causa, VII superpositionibus; si infirmitatis et non voracitatis causa, IIII superpositionibus delet culpam."

7. perdiderit. 1 year is again the penance in B 12 and in the Reg. Coen. (p.201,13); Gildas (Praef. de Pen. 9) gives 120 days.

11. falsum testimonium. See on line 1 above.

12. illius rei i.e. the property which he had claimed by false witness.

14. casualibus. The more unusual occurrences; what follows refers to the daily discipline of the monastery, and is closely parallel to certain passages of the Reg. Coen.

16. sine interrogatione i.e. without asking permission of the superior; in the Reg. Coen. (p.199,3), the penance is the singing of 24 psalms.

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17. dicat. cf. p.198,1; the penance there appointed for contradiction is three days on bread and water, and for murmuring, two.

19. simpliciter promptum i.e. without ulterior motive (opposed to ex intentione, on purpose to provoke a quarrel); the penance here agrees with the shorter recension of the Reg. Coen.

(p.188,17), whereas in the longer (p.204,12) it is "sex percussioneibus."

20. silentii superpositione. For the meaning, see note on p.188,13; this punishment, with the alternative of 100 strokes, is appointed for deliberate contradiction in the later passage of the Reg. Coen. (p.204,13).

Page 210, line 2. detrahit. Both language and punishment here agree with the shorter recension (p.190,14).

5. Qui autem etc. This, together with the following section, is repeated with minor alterations near the end of the longer recension of the Reg. Coen. (pp.206,15-207,2). These frequent borrowings indicate the priority of the Penitential, certainly to the longer recension, and I believe also to the shorter; for if the latter had already been in existence, there would have been no purpose in the inclusion of these fragmentary canons on monastic discipline here.

10 foll. Verbosus vero etc. For the principle of curing by contraries, cf. De octo vitiis (p.223,13 foll.) "Haec igitur

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omnium origines et causae sunt malorum, quae sic sunt sananda per contraria..."; also Finnian sect. 28 "...ut e contrariis contraria curet et emendet," and Basil Interrog. 51 (Reg. fus. tract. -- P.G.31,1040 D) Καὶ τὰς διορθώσεις δὲ κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἰατρείας λόγον προσαγέτω τοῖς ἐμπαθέσι.... ἰώμενος... τὴν κενοδοξίαν τοῖς ἐπιτάγμασι τῶν τῆς ταπεινοφροσύνης ἐπιτηδευμάτων· τὴν ἀργολογίαν τῇ σιωπῇ· ὄπνον ἄμετρον διὰ τῆς ἐν προσευχαῖς ἀγρυπνίας· ἀργίαν σώματος διὰ τῶν κόπων· βρῶσιν ἀπρεπῇ διὰ τῆς ἀσιτίας· γογγυσμὸν διὰ τοῦ ἀφορισμοῦ κτλ.

14. Diversitas culparum. The phrase is quoted in the opening of the longer recension of the Reg. Coen. (p.184,12).

15. medicamenta. The metaphor (used in the passage from Basil quoted on line 10 above) appears also in Greg. Reg.Past. III,36 (P.L.77,121 C-D) "Haec sunt quae praesul animarum in praedicationis diversitate custodiat, ut sollicitus congrua singulorum vulneribus medicamina opponat...more bicipitis gladii tumores cogitationum carnalium ex diverso latere incidat..." Jonas (I,5) speaks of the "penitentiae medicamenta".

17. caligines diseases of the eye.

18. confractiones fractures; combustiones burns.

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Page 211, line 2. cognoscere curare i.e. "know how to cure";

the only grammatical parallel quoted in the Thesaurus is "priusquam cognoscat vocare patrem et matrem" (V.L. of Is.8,4 apud Tert. adv. Marc. 3,13)

7. legis. The civil law; the emphasis there is on the payment of compensation and the possible loss of status, as may be gathered from the following extract (Ancient Laws of Ireland I pp.57 and 59; this compilation, though of uncertain date, may be taken as representing traditional practice in the main) "Inflicting wounds, or committing acts of treachery upon bodies or persons, or fratricide, or secret murder, or refusing to entertain a company, or adultery, if it be committed by any one of an ecclesiastical grade, deprives such ecclesiastical orders of full honour-price at once, until they pay eric-fine and do penance; and they all return to their former dignities, except the bishop, who does not return, but becomes a hermit...or pilgrim".

9 foll. Si quis clericus etc. The sin of homicide is treated more briefly, and without reference to the status of the offender, in A 3 (p.208,15). Finnian's provisions (sect.23) are these: "Si quis clericus homicidium fecerit...X annis extorem fieri oportet et agat penitentiam VII annorum in alio orbe... et sic impletis X annis, si bene egerit et cumprobatus fuerit testimonio abbatis (Columban's change to "episcopi" in line 12

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reflects the more prominent position of the episcopate in the French penitential discipline) seu sacerdotis qui commissus fuerat, recipiatur in patria sua et satisfaciat amicis eius quem occiderat, et vicem pietatis et obedientiae reddat patri aut matri eius, si adhuc in corpore sunt, et dicat, Ecce ego pro filio vestro quaecunque dixeritis mihi faciam. Si autem non satis egerit, non recipiatur in eternum." Apart from one significant alteration, Columban models his canon very closely on this passage; he deals with homicide committed by laymen in canon 13 (p.214,10 below).

13. cui commissus fuit. The phrase recalls the provisions on p.208,17 for the penitent to enter a monastery during the period of his penance.

18 foll. Si quis ruina etc. Finnian's provisions (sect.12) are more detailed: "Si quis autem clericorum ruina maxima ceciderit et genuerit filium et ipsum occiderit, magnum est crimen fornicatio et homicidium, sed redimi potest per penitentiam et misericordiam; tribus annis peniteat cum pane et aqua per mensuram in fletu et lacrimis atque orationibus die ac nocte et postulet Domini misericordiam, si forte habeat remissionem peccatorum, et tribus annis abstineat se a vino et a carnibus sine officio clericatus, et quadragesimas in tribus annis novissimis ieiunet cum pane et aqua, et extoris existat in patria sua, donec impleavit numerus VII annorum et

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ita iudicio episcopi vel sacerdotis officio suo restituatur."

20. iungatur altario. The phrase describes reconciliation after a period of excommunication, and not simply the restoration of clerical functions; for it is used of laymen on p.214,14 below.

Page 212, lines 5 foll. fornicaverit. See the passages quoted from Finnian on p.208,16. The penances are graded as here according to the rank of the offender in Excerpta de libro Davidis 7 (Wasserschleben p.101) "Episcopus homicidium voluntate faciens vel quamlibet fornicationem dolumve XIII annis peniteat, presbyter autem VII cum pane et aqua et ferculo in die dominico vel sabbati, diaconus VI, sine gradu monachus IV, nisi infirmitas impediat illos." Corresponding to the increase of his penance, the bishop enjoyed an increased honour-price when himself injured (cf. Ancient Laws III p.107).

9. periuraverit. cf. p.209,1 and the passage from Finnian there quoted; the addition of the words et numquam iuret postea brings the present passage closer to its source. Canon 20 (p.216,16) treats the subject of perjury, when committed by a layman, at much greater length.

11 foll. Si quis maleficio etc. The sin of sorcery is treated by Finnian (sects.18-20) in similar terms: "(18) Si quis clericus maleficus vel si qua mulier malefica, si aliquem

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maleficio suo deciperat, inmane peccatum est, sed per penitentiam redemi potest; VI annis penitentiam agat, III annis cum pane et aqua per mensuram, et in residuis annis abstineat se a vino et a carnibus. (19) Si autem non deciperit aliquem, sed pro inlecebroso amore dederat alicui, annum integrum peniteat cum pane et aqua per mensuram. (20) Si aliqua mulier maleficio suo partum alicuius femine deciperit, dimidium annum peniteat cum pane et aqua per mensuram, et II annos abstineat se a vino et a carnibus, et VI quadragesimas ieiunet cum pane et aqua."

14. pro amore. Yet in the Lives of the Saints from the Book of Lismore 1478 foll. (ed. Stokes p.192), Brigit blesses water for a spell to make a man's wife love him, and the spell is both effective and apparently admired.

16. clericus. The sequel (line 17) shows that this refers to minor orders.

18. partum...deceperit. i.e. "produced abortion".

19. unusquisque...augeat. Both here and in the provision for increased penance in the case of deacons and priests (line 17), Columban seems to have followed a different text from that of Finnian quoted above.

20. furtum. This canon is closely modelled on Finnian (25-6) "(25) Si quis clericus furtum semel aut bis, i.e. furatus est ovem proximi sui aut suam aut aliquod animal, annum integrum peniteat cum pane et aqua per mensuram, et reddat quadruplum

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proximo suo. (26) Si autem non semel aut bis, sed in consuetudine longa fecerit, annis III peniteat." The provisions of Paen. A (p.208,20) are very brief, those for laymen (p.216,6) more detailed.

Page 213, line 3. hoc consuevit. i.e. "has made a practice of this"; on p.216,10 the words are "furtum facere consuevit." 5 foll. Si quis autem etc. The corresponding section in Finnian is 27: "Si quis fuerit clericus diaconus aut alicuius gradus et laicus ante cum filiis et filiabus suis cleventella sua propria habitet et redeat ad carnale desiderium et genuerit filium ex cleventella sua vel dicat, sciat se ruina maxima cecidisse, non minus peccatum eius ut esset clericus ex iuventute sua et cum puella aliena peccasset, quia post votum suum peccaverunt et post consecrati sunt a Deo et tunc votum suum irritum fecerunt, tribus annis peniteat cum pane et aqua per mensuram, et tribus aliis abstineat se a vino et a carnibus, et non ambo sed separatim, et tunc in anno septimo iunguntur (sc. altario) et suum gradum recipiant." There is a reference to the same offence in Epist. I (p.9,10 foll.). So far from a married man being permitted to continue to cohabit with his wife (clientela -- this use of the word seems to be peculiar to Irish Latin) after he had taken orders (conversio, line 7) it actually appears that the wife was then

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expected to live as a sort of widow; for the sixth canon of Patrick (Haddan and Stubbs, Councils II p.328) states

"Quicumque clericus.....uxor eius si non velato capite ambula-
verit, pariter a laicis contempnentur et ab Ecclesia se-
parentur" (see further L.Gougaud, Chrétientés Celtiques p.231).

For the ideal of a rigid separation between the sexes, com-
pare the statement in the Catalogue of the Saints of Ireland
(Haddan and Stubbs, Councils II p.292) that the second order
of saints "abnegabant mulierum administrationem, separantes
eas a monasteriis."

14 foll. per rixam. In A 5 (p.209,2) the punishment is a
penance of three (and not one) years; for laymen, the same
penance as here, together with some sort of restitution, is
appointed in canon 21 (p.217,7 foll.). Finnian's provisions
(sects.8-9) agree with those of the present passage: "(8) Si
autem clericus fuerit et percusserit fratrem suum aut proximum
aut sanguinem effuderit...annum integrum peniteat cum pane et
aqua et sine ministerio clericatus... (9) Si autem laicus
fuerit xl dierum peniteat et det pecuniam aliquam qui percutit,
quantum arbitratus fuerit sacerdos aut iustus quisquam."

19. si aetas non defendit. In A 7 (p.209,9), where a shorter
penance is appointed, the words are "si iunior sit"; here, the
meaning presumably is that youth may provide an excuse in
mitigation of the full punishment.

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20. Si quis concupiscit etc. Finnian (sect.17) is more lenient in his penalty: "Si autem perseveranter concupivit et non potuit, quia non suscepit eum mulier sive erubuit dicere, iam mechatus est eam in corde suo. Sed in corde et non in corpore unum est peccatum, sed non eadem penitentia est. Penitentia eius haec est: xl dies peniteat cum pane et aqua."

Page 214, line 4. perdiderit, cf. p.209,7-8.

5. evomuerit. cf. p.209,4-6, where 40 days' penance takes the place of 120.

10. homicidium. cf. A 3 (p.208,15) and B 1 (p.211,9); also Finnian, 35 "De laicis si quis ex malis actibus suis conversus fuerit ad Dominum et omne malum antea egerit, i.e. fornicando et sanguinem effundendo, III annis peniteat et in hermis existat nisi virgam tantum in manu eius...in primo anno peniteat cum pane et aqua per mensuram...Post penitentiam trium annorum pecuniam dabit pro redemptione anime sue...et si ita libuerit, iungatur altario."

12-3. reddens...officii. i.e. "taking the place of the slain in affection and duty to his parents"; cf. p.211,14 "vicem filii reddens" etc.

15. Si quis laicus etc. The corresponding section in Finnian is 36 (quoted on p.208,16 above).

18. praetium pudicitiae. The Ancient Laws make no precise statement on the amount of this; it would doubtless vary according to the social position of the injured husband.

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Page 215, line 3. cum pane etc. The diet indicated here is very similar to that of a monastery (cf. Reg. Mon. III), and it is probable that the offender was expected to live under monastic discipline during the time of his penance; cf. pp.208,17 and 211,13.

6. oret. Specimens of the type of prayer that would be used are provided in the Paen. Bobbiense (Wasserschleben pp.411-2) "Oratio super poenitente. Deum omnipotentem ac misericordem, qui non vult mortem peccatorum, sed ut convertantur et vivant, fratres carissimi, deprecemur, ut ad veniam rectam famulus tuus ill. misericordiae veniam propiciatus indulgeat, si qua sunt culparum suarum omnium vulnera, quae post sacri lavacri undam contraxit, ita in hac publica confessione delicta sanentur, ut nulla cicatricum signa remaneant. Per Dominum nostrum. Item alia. Salvator redemptorque noster, qui non solum poenitentibus, sed etiam omnes, qui nec ante venire cupiunt, veniam propitius et miserator indulges, supplices quaesumus, ut hunc famulum tuum ill. ad corporis et sanguinis tui communionis indulta venia caelestem benedictionem perducatur. Per..."

7 foll. fornicaverit See note on p.208,16, and cf. Excerpta de libro Davidis 6 (Wasserschleben p.101) "Qui autem cum virgine vel vidua necdum disponsata peccaverit, dotem det parentibus eius, et anno uno peniteat."

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10. humiliationis eius praetio. cf. Ancient Laws of Ireland I p.133 "The honour-price of a virgin, i.e. a shekel and a marriage-gift from the man...i.e. the honour-price which is due to the virgin for violating her"; here, the price is paid, not to the virgin, but to her relatives.

Page 216, line 5. dimidia...paenitentia. cf. Reg. Coen. III

(p.187,8) "semipaenitentia, id est media paenitentia," which apparently refers to some mitigation of the full rigour of the penitential discipline; here Columban insists that such relaxations are not to be permitted in the case of serious sins, for penance is properly intended to involve a mortification of the penitent's entire way of life.

6. furtum. cf. A 4 (p.208,20) and B 7 (p.212,20), and the quotation from Finnian in the note on the latter.

15. epula. Finnian also mentions such a feast, at the conclusion of sect. 35 (quoted in part on p.214,10) "...pecuniam dabit pro redemptione anime sue et fructum penitentie in manu sacerdotis et cenam faciat servis Dei, et in cena consumabitur et recipiatur ad communionem..." Baptismal and marriage feasts are mentioned in the Ancient Laws (III p.19) "What is the godly banquet? A gift to God, the Sunday gift every week, the celebration of the solemn festival, feeding a pilgrim, a gift to a church, baptismal refectio.... (gloss) The

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Sunday gift, i.e. as much as he spends on Sunday, i.e. the Sunday meal to be given by the married pair to their church... Baptismal refection, i.e. religious food, i.e. of baptism, i.e. the price of baptism." The custom, which may possibly have a Jewish origin, is found also in pagan religion.

16 foll. Si quis laicus periuravit. cf. p.209,1 and the quotation there given from Finnian sect. 22.

18. convertatur sc. "a saeculo"; i.e. be professed as a monk (cf. line 19, and the similar provisions on pp.215,3 etc.).

19. usque ad mortem. This penance is more severe than the provisions of the corresponding earlier sections, which seem to envisage a limited period of residence in the monastery.

Page 217, lines 7 foll. Si quis laicorum etc. cf. p.213,14 and the passage there quoted from Finnian sect.9.

10. opera. i.e. the penitent is to manage the injured party's farm or other business, so long as the latter is incapacitated by his wound.

14. septimana. The offence is simple drunkenness, without consequent vomiting of the Sacrament, and the penance is the shortest period appointed in the previous canons (A 6, p.209,4, and B 12, p.214,4) which have dealt with the aggravated form of the offence. The Excerpta de libro Davidis, canon 2, give 15 days for drunkenness "per ignorantiam", 40 if "per negligentiam" and 120 if committed "per contemptum"; this

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preoccupation with the inner motive is characteristic of the insular writers on penitential discipline.

16. foll. adulterare voluerit. The language of this canon is similar to that of B 11 (p.213,20 foll.), but its penance is the more lenient amount appointed by Finnian, sect. 17 (quoted on p.213,20), who does not distinguish between clerics and laymen in his treatment of this offence. Canon A 2 (p.208,8 foll.) has already dealt in general terms with sins of intention, and it would seem to favour the severer penance.

Page 218, lines 1-2. iuxta fana. These words suggest a background of missionary work in a country predominantly heathen; cf. the story of the destruction of pagan cult objects in Jonas I,27. Again, there is the characteristic analysis of motive (per ignorantiam...per contemptum...gulae tantum vitio...pro cultu daemonum).

5-6. mensae daemoniorum. The phrase, which here refers to heathen religious rites, appears in a rather different sense in the Ancient Laws (III p.25) "A demon feast, i.e. a banquet which is given to sons of death and bad men, i.e. to lewd persons and satirists and jesters and buffoons and mountebanks and outlaws and heathens and harlots and bad people in general, which is not given for earthly obligation and is not given for heavenly reward -- such a feast is forfeited to the demon."

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10. Bonosiacis. The followers of Bonosus (a bishop of Sardica at the close of the fourth century, who denied the perpetual virginity of Mary), on the deposition of their leader, originated a schism which lasted until the seventh century; they were accused by the orthodox of also denying Christ's divinity (cf. Gennadius, De Script. Eccl. 14 -- P.L.58,1068 B -- "Photinianos qui nunc vocantur Bonosiaci"). Mention is frequently made of them in the lives of Columban's disciples (Jonas II,8; Vitae Agili 9 and Salabergae 7), but the fact that they do not appear in connection with the saint himself has led Malnory (Quid Luxovienses &c. p.71) to assume that the present canon was added to the Penitential after Columban's death; there is, however, no reason why he should not have heard of them in France, for in the year 443 the second Council of Arles considered the baptism administered by their clergy, and in its 17th canon found it valid -- a validity which was denied by Gregory the Great, Epist. XI,67 (P.L.77, 1206), "quia...Christum dominum non credunt." However, the grades of penitents (line 11) and reconciliation by the imposition of a bishop's hands (line 19) reflect Roman rather than Celtic practice, and it is therefore doubtful whether the present canon is in fact the work of Columban (see further O.D.Watkins, History of Penance II pp.617-9, and J.T.MacNeill in Revue Celtique 39, 1922, p.284).

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17. sinistrae partis i.e. "perverse faction".

Page 219, line 1. monachorum. Both parts of the Penitential (cf. p.209,16 foll.) conclude with a short and fragmentary section dealing with the discipline of monks; the present one, unlike its predecessor, has little affinity with the Reg. Coen.

2. vallum apertum...dimiserit "has left the wall open" i.e. has failed to close the monastery gate. The Celtic monasteries were usually surrounded by an earthen rampart for protection; cf. Reg. Coen. VIII (p.193,4) "...extra vallum, id est extra sepem monasterii."

4. aliis who, coming after, would have the responsibility of closing the gate.

5. praecesserit. This, the reading of Fleming, is doubtless correct; the offender may not plead in excuse that the gate was left open by someone going immediately in front of himself.

6. lumentum. Fleming read "iumentum", and was led to make the highly improbable suggestion that the passage referred to indecent exposure while mounting a horse; in fact, it deals with the provisions for modesty in bathing. For this meaning of lumentum -- which the word probably bears in Instr. VII (p.124,17) -- compare the gloss "fomentum, ablutio" in C.G.L. (V 463,45; 506,38; 572,5) and the letter of Aldhelm to Geruntius (M.G.H. Epist. III p.233, line 31) "Nec manibus lomentum aut latex cum manutergio exhibetur." (In classical

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Latin, it regularly means "a mixture of bean-meal and rice... used by the Roman ladies for preserving the smoothness of their skin" -- Lewis and Short.)

6. absolute -- to be taken with lavaverit and not with solus; for line 13 permits a monk to wash his feet in private. What is here prohibited is washing "all over" when alone, presumably because to strip himself naked might expose the monk to temptation. Translate "If anyone, seeking a bath, has washed himself all over when alone..." The conjecture of Seebass ("in lumento sedens") is unacceptable, for the question of sitting down in the bath will be dealt with in line 10.

7. lavans licito. The permitted manner of washing includes (a) the minimum exposure of the skin, and (b) the presence of other monks (coram fratribus), except when simply washing the feet (line 13).

8. hoc fecerit i.e. "absolute lavaverit."

9. plagis. This word, characteristic of the longer recension of the Reg. Coen. here replaces the percussionibus of line 3.

9-10. etiam sedendo. To expose the legs or arms when sitting down would be less immodest than to do so standing (line 8), and therefore the punishment is less severe.

12. ad alteram diem dominicam. The words imply that only on Sundays were the monks given the opportunity of a thorough wash (cf. p.194,4); through the week, hands and feet might

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presumably be washed, but the privilege of washing the latter is here withdrawn as a form of punishment (line 13).

12. lavator. For this word, the dictionaries only recognize the specific meaning of "launderer, fuller."

14-5. altero...lavante. This assistance would presumably be required by the very old; and in view of their age and infirmity, the regulations are partially relaxed (etiam publice... licet).

16. praedicationem. It is implied that there will regularly be a sermon on Sundays; cf. p.196,2, where praeceptum (line 18) is also used in reference to this weekly instruction.

20. tonitruum evangelii i.e. the bell which announces the reading of the Gospel.

Page 220, line 2. antequam ad missam eatur. The shorter recension of the Reg. Coen. makes no specific mention of confession before Mass; but the practice was current in the daughter-houses of Luxeuil, cf. Jonas II,19 "mater urguet ut per confessionem pendantur vitia et sacri corporis communione roborentur."

4. expectare. In Reg. Coen. VII (p.191,2) a monk suffering from depression is urged to refrain from confession, until he is restored to health of mind.

7. corpus suum inibi. Apart from an obscure passage in the sixth Epistle (p.75,6-10), this is the only passage in Columban's genuine writings which implies a belief in the Real Presence of Christ in the Sacrament; the Sermons are concerned rather with a mystical or spiritual communion.

OPUSCULA.De Homine Misero.

This tract and the following (De octo vitiis) appear to have been sent to a young friend or disciple; there are no indications by which even an approximate date can be fixed, but it is just possible that they were addressed to King Theudebert when, in 612 (Jonas I,28), Columban was urging that monarch to abdicate and become a monk.

Page 221, line 2. momentum i.e. "for an instant"; human life is a mere moment of time.

2. semper sc. "erit".

4. pigritudinem. This word (instead of the usual form, "pigritia") is found also in Migne's text of Greg. Magn.

Moral. IX,58 (P.L.75,908 B), but the reading there is uncertain; here the later manuscript, D, has introduced the emendation "pigritationem".

6. invitat. The manuscript reading, "inritat", does not fit the context, and I have therefore chosen to emend; Columban pictures the world as "inviting" his young correspondent to "follow" it in the "flight" from duty. The language of this passage is reminiscent of Instr.V.

9. pretiosior i.e. "more rich"; properly used of a purchaser who can afford to pay highly (cf. Hor. Carm. III,6,32 etc.).

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14-6. eadem...sunt. This sentence is exceedingly corrupted in the manuscripts (see the Apparatus Criticus); my emended text is intended to be translated "for the whole world's same (dreams) are indeed as it were the dreams of one most murky night."

Page 222, line 1. rota. cf. Instr.III (p.103,9-10) "Mundus enim transibit et cottidie transit et rotatur ad finem."

3. secedere. Theudebert, if he was in fact the recipient of this treatise, was at the time seriously menaced by the armies of his brother.

3. tuum sc. "agrum" i.e. heaven.

4. nudus natus. Both here and in the following line, there are close similarities with Instr.III (pp.108,19-20 and 109,5-6) "nudus natus, nudus sepeliris....cadaver nudum, vermibus et putredine dissolvendum."

13. ista sc. "vitia"; when the root, pride, has been destroyed, the remainder are disposed of by a shorter cut (breviori compendio).

19. invidiam. This is replaced by "superbia" in the following tract (p.223,3); but pride has already been dealt with here (lines 9 foll.). For the composition of Columban's list of vices, see the following notes.

De Octo Vitiis Principalibus.

This tract is closely connected with the preceding, and is little more than a clarification of its final sentence.

Page 223, line 1. Octo. Eight principal vices were first enumerated by Evagrius Ponticus (cf. Ryan, Irish Monasticism, p.223), under the following names γαστριμαργία, πορνεία, φιλαργυρία, λύπη, ὀργή, ἀκηδία, κενοδοξία, ὑπερηφανία. The same list, with a single change of order, is given by Cassian (Inst. V,1 -- P.L.49,203 A -- cf. Conl. V,2 and 25-7) "gastrimargia, fornicatio, philargyria, ira, tristitia, acedia, cenodoxia, superbia"; and this is the list of Columban, whose only alteration is to substitute Latin for Greek terms in three places. Gregory the Great (Moral. XXXI,45 -- P.L.76, 620 D) counted the more familiar number of seven, by reckoning pride separately, as the source and mother of the rest.

14-5. sananda per contraria. See the note on p.210,10, and especially the passage from Basil there quoted.

15. Gula triplex. Gluttony may be shown in the "quid", the "quando" and the "quantum" of the meal; cf. Cass. Inst. V,23 (P.L.49,240 B) "Triplex enim natura est gastrimargiae -- una, quae canonicam refectionis horam praevenire compellit; alia, quae tantummodo ventris ingluvie et saturitate quarumlibet gaudet escarum; tertia, quae accuratioribus epulis et esculentioribus oblectatur."

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16. de hora nona in horam nonam. This is the more austere discipline of Reg. Mon. III (p.164, 11 foll.), which is to some extent relaxed by a later addition to the Reg. Coen. (p.200,9).

19. castitatem. cf. Reg. Mon. VI (p.167,7 foll.).

20 foll. nihil habendo proprium. cf. ib. IV (p.165,8).

Page 224,5. unius loci habitatione. Columban implies a strong preference for stability in Epist. I (p.9,12 foll.).

9. vera humilitate. cf. Reg. Mon. V (p.166,13 foll.).

De Saltu Lunae.

Probably written at Milan, in the year 613-4, this treatise appears to be an extract from some longer work; it calculates the length of the lunation implied by the nineteen-year cycle of Dionysius.

Page 225, line 1. saltu lunae. The word is defined as ὑποτομή ἡμέρας by DuGange, and in fact it denotes the omission of a whole day (which the moon as it were "leaps over") once in every nineteen years, in order to keep the solar and lunar calendars in harmony; cf. Augustinus Hibernensis, De mirabilibus sacrae scripturae II,4 (P.L. 35,2176) "Post quos (cyclos) et in lunari supputatione per communes (annos) duodecim et embolismos septem, per ogdoadem et hendecadem et incrementum lunare, quod computatores saltum nominant; et solari per quadrantes et bissextos diligenter dinumeratos, demum duobus luminaribus totidem dies habentibus, et per cursus sui omnes lineas concordi ratione convenientibus, velut primus conditi orbis annus innovatur." It will be convenient here to define the meaning of the other technical terms involved --

Embolismus. An extra month of 30 days intercalated every second or third year; the normal or common year having 354 days, the "annus embolimeus" thus consists of 384 days, and there are seven such years in every 19. Ogdoas and

Hendecas. The two divisions of this 19-year cycle. Bissextus dies. The intercalary day of leap-year.

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6. retineat. "retains some moments" to complete its course; i.e. whether the lunation is actually a few moments longer than the bare $29\frac{1}{2}$ days.

7. nunc tandem i.e. when the time for the "saltus" comes round; the extra moments then "make their appearance restored by a summary calculation," and in compensation a day of solar time requires to be omitted.

15. nunc XXX nunc XXVIII. In a normal year, the months are alternately 30 and 29 days long, and there are 6 (line 16) of each.

19-20. quare...computatur. The extra month, intercalated every second or third year, is 30 days in length; if the lunation were completed in exactly $29\frac{1}{2}$ days, there would be no extra moments available to make up the 12 hours that are thus added to it.

Page 226, line 1. februario. February, normally reckoned as a month of 29 days, is made up to 30 in leap year; again some extra moments, over and above the $29\frac{1}{2}$ days, must be available, to account for the addition.

5. V bissexti etc. Leap year occurring once in four, $4\frac{3}{4}$ such years must be reckoned to every cycle of 19 years.

7 foll. In VII embolismis etc. The following calculation enumerates the total number of extra hours in a complete

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19-year cycle -- that is to say, the amount of time, additional to what would be required by a lunation of exactly $29\frac{1}{2}$ days, that is actually measured out -- and hence it deduces the excess over the $29\frac{1}{2}$ days that must be attributed to a single lunation. Thus, in every 19 years there are 7 intercalated months (each with 12 extra hours), and $4\frac{3}{4}$ intercalated days (one from each leap year), the excess totalling 84 hours and 114 hours, i.e. 198 hours

Subtract (1 day omitted at the Saltus) 24 "

174 "

Reduced to moments (N.B. "xl momenta unam horam faciunt" --

Alcuin, P.L.101,987 B) 6960 moments

or 348 half-hours

Subtract (see below) 113 "

235 " (1)

Reduce the 113 half-hours to quarters 226 quarters (2)
and this almost equals the number of moons in 19 years,
which is actually 235 -- cf. (1) above.

Thus, each separate lunation must consist of
 $29\frac{1}{2}$ days, plus 1 half-hour -- from (1), plus approx.

10 moments -- from (2).

In fact, the average length of the lunation is now reckoned
at 29 days, 12 hours, 44 minutes, 2.78 seconds.

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Page 227, line 3. Restat...plerisque i.e. "It therefore remains that (the position is) thus in general."

13. XII lunis i.e. those of the 7 intercalary months and of the 5 leap-years (actually $4\frac{3}{4}$). The sum of the previous page is here briefly worked backwards. Thus, it appears that the amount of additional time is actually 24 hours short of what would theoretically be required by all the intercalations -- this is the difference between the 198 and the 174 hours at the beginning of the former calculation, and it is here (line 15) expressed as two hours for each of the 12 irregular years -- and hence it is necessary to omit one day in every cycle.

17. mense novembris. According to Durandus (quoted by DuCange s.v. Saltus), the omission is made at the end, not of November, but of July -- "Luna facit saltum Quintilis luce suprema." Alcuin, however, (P.L.101,985 A) places the saltus on November 17th, according to the usage of the Latins.

Oratio.

Page 228. This short prayer is preserved in a single manuscript.

It should be compared with the longer specimens of Columban's prayers, which conclude Sermons XII and XIII.

CARMINA.In Mulieres.

Goldast, whose note is quoted in Migne 80,306 A, took this short poem as referring to Queen Brunhilda -- "Aut vehementer fallor, aut hoc epigramma in Brunichildem scripsit, scelertissimam Burgundionum reginam." In fact, lines 3-4 obviously oppose Eve to Mary, and the opening reference is to woman-kind in general. The poem is a fragmentary and probably youthful exercise, and the most plausible occasion for its composition would have occurred shortly after Columban had been induced to forsake the world by the advice of the pious anchoress whom he consulted, and whose words are thus recounted by Jonas (I,3) -- "Non reminisceris suasu Evae Adam dilapsum?perge, evade ruinam, per quam multos conperis corruisse..."

Page 229, line 3. Collatum i.e. by the Creator.

3-4. vitae...vitae i.e. natural and eternal life.

De Mundi Transitu.

No title being given to this poem by the MSS, I have chosen one from its opening line. It is written in rhyming stanzas, and the metre, though irregular, is fundamentally trochaic; in all the other surviving poems of Columban, none but strictly classical verse-forms are employed. Gundlach (in M.G.H. Epist. III) dated it, with hesitation, to the years 612-5, but personally I incline to the belief that it is another youthful work, probably written during the author's sojourn at Gluain Innis, and when the thought of his vocation was still fresh in his mind.

Page 230, line 1. Mundus iste cf. Epist. V (p.50,5-6) "Mundus iam declinat; princeps pastorum appropinquat..." and Instr. III (p.103,9-10) "Mundus enim transibit et cottidie transit et rotatur ad finem..."

7. de...vita i.e. "after" a life (on earth).

9. Differentibus. The word here has the meaning "to prolong"; cf. Ps. Seneca De moribus 10 a (Publilius Syri Sentent. ed. Friedrich p.87) "Omnes differentes vitam mors incerta praevenit."

16. alii -- to be scanned as a disyllable; for the thought cf. Ps. 38,7 "Thesaurizat et ignorat cui congregabit ea."

23. Indeficiens -- to be scanned as a word of four syllables, with the stress on the first and third.

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25-6. Lubricum etc. There may be a reminiscence here of Ov. Fast. V,476 "Lubrica prensantes effugit umbra manus."

33. somnis i.e. "somniis".

39. impiis Like alii (line 16) this forms a disyllable.

Page 231, line 44. formulam vitae. cf. Auson. Parent. IV,19

"Non ignota tibi nostrae quoque formula vitae."

53. Pulchritudo. Jonas (I,3) records the temptations to which Columban was exposed by his youthful beauty.

56. raditur. The MS reading, "eraditur", is inadmissible because it would require an elision such as is not permitted elsewhere in the poem.

57. Vultus genitive, depending on radius.

61-4. Caveto etc. cf. the poem In Mulieres, probably written in the same period of the author's life as the present.

69. impiissimae sc. voluntatis (line 67) and scan as a word of four syllables.

79. morsum a reference to Adam's eating of the forbidden fruit.

Page 232, line 86. suspensis. The word describes the hesitant walk of one who feels his way; cf. Hor. Epist. I,16,50 "Cautus enim metuit...Suspectos laqueos."

97. laudens. This emendation of the MS reading "laudes" is easy, and required by the grammar of the passage.

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106. The MSS here repeat a part of line 102. Blume (Analecta Hymnica LI p.353) conjecturally fills the gap with the words "Dulci cantu plena est"; but it seems more probable that the lost line, like 102, began with "Plebs", which would explain the confusion in the MSS.

109. viridis. The evergreen of eternal youth.

Ad Hunaldum.

This poem is dated by Gundlach to the years 612-5, but it is perhaps more reasonable, in view of the labours which occupied those busy years, to suppose that it was written from Bangor to a former pupil of the monastic school, over which Columban there presided. The initial letters of the verses give the names both of author and recipient, the former in its longer form, "Columbanus"; in his epistles, the saint always calls himself "Columba", and this point provides another argument for the view that this poem was written at a different period of his life.

Page 233, line 1. Casibus. cf. Fortunati Carm. XI,27,1 "Casibus innumeris hominum momenta rotantur." Tempora cf. Auson.

Parent. praef. 17 "percurras tempora vitae." (For the majority of these and the following quotations, I am indebted to the notes of Gundlach).

2. Omnia praetereunt. The words appear again in Fidol. line 164, and in Fortun. Carm. IV,26,32. Voluntur cf. Hor. Carm. IV,6,39 "pronos Volvere menses" and Verg. Aen. VI,748 "...ubi mille rotam volvere per annos."

3. Labitur cf. ad Seth. 7 and Ovid. Art. Amat. III,65 "cito pede labitur aetas."

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4. cf. Iuven. III,502 "Ut mihi perpetuam liceat comprehendere vitam."
5. illecebras. cf. Auson. Epigr. LVI,3 "oblatas sperno illecebras" and id. Epist. IV,2 "molles liquimus illecebras".
5. caducae. The word is a favourite in the Sermons.
6. Blanda. cf. Lucr. II,966 "blanda voluptas".
7. cf. Hor. Epist. I,1,33 "Fervet avaritia miseroque cupidine pectus."
8. modum. cf. Hor. Serm. II,3,266 "Nec modum habet" and Auson. Urb. VIII,4 "Nescivit servare modum"; also Reg. Mon. VIII (p.175,19-20) "quicquid ipsum modum excesserit vitium esse manifestum est."
9. The line is copied exactly from Hor. Epist. I,1,52.
10. cf. Prudent. Psychom. 609 "Summa quies, nil velle super quam postulet usus," and Reg. Mon. III (p.164,15-6) "Etenim utilitati et usui tantum consulendum est aeterna desiderantibus praemia."
15. Lubrica. cf. De Mundi Transitu 25-6 "Lubricum quod labitur Gonantur colligere."
16. Da veniam. cf. Epist. II (p.26,14-5) "Date quaeso veniam meae loquacitati," and Ovid. Ep. ex Ponto III,9,55 "Da veniam scriptis."
17. nimum...vitare memento. cf. Catonis Distich. II,6 a "Quod nimium est fugito," ib. II,19 a "simul et vitare memento"; also Reg. Mon. VIII (p.174,16-8) "Ideo continendum semper est ab utroque periculo, id est ab omni nimietate..."

Ad Sethum.

Two of the MSS, and two early editors (see the Apparatus Criticus), attempted to join this poem to the preceding by emending the recipient's name in line 1; but the acrostic system of the verses to Hunaldus show that they are complete in themselves, and the present poem, though it probably belongs to the same period and type of composition as the other, must be treated as a separate work. Again, the author calls himself "Columbanus" (line 2).

Page 234, line 1. Suscipe...libens. cf. Paul. Diac. Carm. V,8

(M.G.H. Poet. Carol. I,43) "Suscipe sed libens".

3. ornatu careant. cf. Auson. Eclog. II,40 "ornatu vita caret." In the Epistles, Columban apologizes for his poor Latinity (p.45,5 and perhaps 11,17).

6. Dummodo...manet. cf. Verg. Aen. V,724, VI,608 & 661 "Dum vita manebat."

6. certa salutis. cf. Auson. Domest. II,22 "spes certa salutis."

7. The line is quoted from Anthol. Lat. (ed. Riese) 676,10.

Labitur. cf. ad Hunald. 3.

8. gaudia. cf. Verg. Aen. XI,180 "Non vitae gaudia quaero" and Fortun. Carm. IV,26,1 "fugitivaque gaudia mundi."

10. circumflua. cf. Prudent. Hamart. 333 "nitidis fallens circumflua copia rebus."

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- 14. cecinerunt. cf. Verg. Aen. V,524 "cecinerunt omina vates."
- 16. tremebunda senectus. The words appear also in Fortun.
Carm. IV,6,1.
- 17. gelidae. cf. Hor. Carm. II,8,11 "gelidaque divos Morte
carentes" and Ovid. Met. XV,153 "gelidae formidine mortis."
- 19. morbosque. cf. Fidolio 160 "morbis oppressus acerbis..."
- 20. diem leti. cf. Verg. Aen. IV,169 "Ille dies primus leti."
- 20. certosque dolores. cf. Hor. Epod. XV,16 "Si certus
intrarit dolor."

Page 235, line 21. incommoda. cf. Hor. Art. Poet. 169 "Multa
senem circumveniunt incommoda."

- 22. matie. cf. Hor. Carm. III,27,53 "turpis macies."
- 22. languida. cf. Verg. Cul. 207 "Languidaque...membra" and
Lucan Phars. III,8 "languida...Membra".
- 24. Illius i.e. "senis".
- 24. sanguis. cf. Sedul. Carm. Pasch. I,109 "Frigidus annoso
moriens in corpore sanguis."
- 25. baculo nitens. cf. Ovid. Met. XIV,655 "Innitens baculo".
- 25. artus...inertes. Emphatic oxymoron.
- 27. sonus excitat omnis. The words are taken from Verg. Aen.
II,728.
- 28. fulvi. cf. Verg. Aen. X,134 "fulvum quae dividit aurum"
and Claudian in Ruf. II,134 "Quid nunc divitiae, quid fulvi
vasta metalli Congeries..."

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29. multos...per annos. cf. Verg. Aen. IX,85 "multos dilecta per annos."
31. meminisse. cf. Verg. Aen. I,203 "haec olim meminisse iuvabit."
32. terminus. cf. Verg. Georg. IV,206 "angusti terminus aevi."
34. vanosque. cf. Ver. Aen. XI,52 "vano...honore."
34. refutat. i.e. "contemn" (as in Sallust ap. Servius in Verg. Georg. IV,218).
36. turpia lucra. The phrase occurs also in Auson. Eclog. II,8.
37. Semper avarus eget -- quoted from Horace (who is here referred to simply as "the poet") Epist. I,2,56.
38. cf. Juvenal. Sat. XIV,139 "Crescit amor nummi quantum ipsa pecunia crevit."
39. inter opes. cf. Hor. Carm. III,16,28 "Magnas inter opes inops."
40. nummos. cf. Hor. Serm. I,1,67 "Ipse domi simul ac nummos contemplor in arca" and ib. II,3,109 "Qui nummos aurumque recondit."

Page 236, line 43. felix. cf. Verg. Aen. IV,657 "heu nimium felix."

43. usus. cf. Hor. Epist. I,12,4 "cui rerum suppetit usus," and, for the thought, Columban's own Epist. VII (p.83,3-4) "cui pauca non sufficiunt, plura non proderunt."
45. caecaque cupidine. cf. ad Hunald. 7 and Juvenal. Sat. X,351 "caeca magnaue cupidine."

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46. reposcit. cf. Lucr. II,369 "quod natura reposcit."

48. tinearum. cf. Hor. Serm. II,3,118 "vestis...tinearum epulae" and id. Epist. I,20,12 "tineas pasces".

49. Pascere. cf. Hor. Serm. I,6,103 "caballi Pascendi" and Verg. Aen. VI,654 "quae cura nitentes Pascere equos"; also Fidolio 92-3 "Pascere pingui Farre caballos."

50. tales i.e. such as are mentioned in the following lines.

50. curas. cf. Hor. Serm. I,2,110 "curasque graves e pectore pelli."

54. cf. Iob I,21 "Nudus egressus sum de utero matris meae, et nudus revertar illuc."

55. nigri. cf. Ovid. Met. IV,438 "ubi sit nigri fera regia Ditis."

55. reserantur. cf. Verg. Aen. VII,613 "reberat...limina," also Fidolio lines 76-9.

56. Pauperibusque piis. cf. Matt.5,3 "Beati pauperes spiritu, quoniam ipsorum est regnum caelorum."

57. monuit. Matt. 6,19 "Nolite thesaurizare vobis thesauros in terra, ubi aerugo et tinea demolitur..." also Luc. 18,22 etc.

58. amat. cf. Ioann.14,21 "Qui habet mandata mea et servat ea, ille est qui diligit me."

60. fuga. cf. Hor. Carm. III,30,5 "fuga temporum."

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Page 237, lines 62-72. Quoted from Anthol. Lat. (ed. Riese) 676, 2 foll. (also in Poet. Lat. Minores, ed. Baehrens, V, 349), with the omission of one line, which has been quoted at v.7 above.

71. cf. Hieron. in Ezech. (P.L.25,23 A) "(annus) ab eo quod semper...in se redeat, nomen acceperit; de quibus pulchre uno versiculo dictum est, Ver, aestas, autumnus, hiems et mensis et annus."

76. memor. cf. Verg. Aen. IV,336 "Dum memor ipse mei."

77. optatae longa senectae. This conventional conclusion, after a vivid picture of the evils of old age, suggests that the verses may have been, up to a point, a sort of exercise following a set pattern.

Carmen Navale.

Probably composed during Columban's journey up the Rhine in 611, this poem is intended to be sung by the rowers, and its long, sweeping rhythms make it particularly suitable for the purpose.

- Page 238, line 2. Bicornis. A symbol of strength, frequently applied to rivers; cf. Verg. Aen. VIII,727 "Rhenusque bicornis."
 2. perlabitur. cf. Verg. Aen. I,147 "perlabitur undas", and ib.VIII,91 "Labitur uncta vadis abies."
 3. The same refrain occurs in a similar rowing-song, adapted for use at sea, which was published by Dümmler in Z. für deutsches Alterthum 17 (Neue Folge 5), 1874, pp.144-5; its language has several echoes of the present poem, on which it appears to be modelled, and in the MS used by Dümmler (Berlin Diez B Sant. 66) it follows immediately after the verses to Fidolius. It is unlikely that Columban is the author of both poems, and he had no occasion to write a chant to be used at sea; but the position of the latter in the Berlin MS indicates that he was believed to have written some Carmen Navale, and hence there are added grounds for ascribing the present poem (whose author's name is partly illegible in the one MS which preserves it) to his pen.
 4-5. The language here is reminiscent of the nautical metaphors of Epist. V, especially p.47,2-12.

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5. procellam. I take "procellum" to be a scribal error, as the word is always feminine in classical Latin (cf. line 7)
8. improbis. cf. Verg. Georg. I,145-6 "labor omnia vicit Improbis."
10. The line is taken without alteration from Verg. Aen. I,207, while line 11 is an exact copy of ib.I,199.
13. inimicus i.e. the devil.
16. animo fixi. cf. Verg. Aen. IV,15 "animo fixum immotumque sederet."
16. strophas. The incorrect scansion, with the penultimate syllable counted as long, suggests that the author's familiarity with Greek was mediocre.
22. rerum fons i.e. Creator of the world.

Fidolio.

Line 163 indicates that the author was an old man when he wrote this poem, and it must belong to the closing years of Columban's life; it was probably written during his residence at Milan, and it may have been disgust at the splendour of the Lombard court that led him to choose as his subject the vanity of riches. Of Fidolius himself we know nothing certain, except that he was in frequent communication with the author (cf. line 14 foll.); Wattenbach (Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter I p.101 note 3) produces no evidence for his statement that Fidolius is to be identified with Fridolin, and for my part, I believe that he is the friend mentioned in Epist. IV (p.36,13 -- where I have restored his name by emendation of a corrupt passage), who warned Columban against attempting to convert the German tribes; if this is correct, he must have lived or travelled amongst them, and he must have been rich enough in worldly goods to require the warning which the present poem contains. Artistically, it is the most successful of Columban's productions; it is closely modelled on Horace, and several of its ideas occur, in the same sequence, in Carm. III,16. The metre is Adonic.

Page 239, lines 3-4. cf. Verg. Ecl. X,50 "Chalcidico quae sunt mihi condita versu Carmina."

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4. Carminulorum. This diminutive, probably coined by Columban himself, is the only part of the poem's vocabulary which is not strictly classical; the word carminula appears also in Verg. Gramm. Epit. II (ed. Huemer p.8,1), but this author's date is disputed.

5. cf. Ovid. Art. Amat. II,256 "munera parva", and Verg. Aen. VII,243 "parva prioris Munera."

12-3. Arida....arva cf. Ovid Met. XIV,510 "arida Dauni arva," and Hor. Epoë. XVI,54 "Aquosus Euris arva radat imbris."

22. cf. Hor. Epist. I,2,56 "Semper avarus eget" (quoted, ad Seth. 37).

27-8. perurit...corda cf. Mart. XII,49,9 "qui male cor meum perurunt."

32. cf. Verg. Georg. I,37, Aen. VI,373 and IX,185 "dira cupido."

37. foll. The story of the Golden Fleece.

38. cf. Verg. Aen. XI,361 "causa malorum".

40. foll. The golden apple of Discord, and its sequel, the Trojan War.

Page 240, line 41. cf. line 5.

50. Iuraque etc. Instances are given in the following lines.

54. Pigmalionis. The story is told in Verg. Aen. I,347 foll.

"ille Sichaeum Impius ante aras atque auri caecus amore
Clam ferro incautum superat..."

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58. Hospes i.e. Polymnestor; cf. Verg. Aen. III,55 foll.

"Fas omne abrumpit, Polydorum obtruncat et auro Vi potitur."

61. Femina. This introduces a further series of instances.

64. Iovis. The old form of the nominative case. Translate "Jove did not (in fact) flow in a shower of gold; but because, adulterer, he offered gold, he is feigned (in the myth) to be a golden shower."

72. coniunx i.e. Eriphyle.

73 foll. See Homer, Iliad XXIV,571 foll.; Verg. Aen. II,541-3.

76. reserari. cf. ad Seth. 55; by munere certo, Charon's fare of two obols is presumably described.

Page 241, line 82. brevitatis. cf. Epist.IV (p.43,1-2) "Totum dicere volui in brevi, totum non potui."

88-9. Suggero...linquere. The dictionaries give no example of this use of an infinitive after "suggero"; the normal construction is with an accusative or dependent clause.

89. cf. Iuvenc. I,650 "terrenam linquite curam."

92-3. cf. ad Seth. 49.

94. Lucraque lucris. The plural, here necessitated by the metre, is rarely used.

105. Dispicienda. sc. "sunt".

109. cf. ad Hunald. 1.

111. loquaci. cf. ad Hunald. 16 "fuimus fortasse loquaces."

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Page 242, line 124. cf. Verg. Gul. 147 "Carmina...edunt," and

Ovid. Trist. II, 541 "Carminaque edideram."

125 foll. This description of the Adonic metre is based on Terentianus Maurus, De Metris 2157 foll.

138. longis sc. "syllabis".

139. Ultima versus i.e. "end of the line."

146. Doctiloquorum. This must be the correct reading, for Columban is urging Fidolius to forsake, for his own frivolities, the songs of more serious poets; for the word, cf. ad Seth. 14.

151. cf. Sedul. Carm. Pasch. IV, 165 "arbiter orbis".

Page 243, lines 160-5. These verses are omitted in the oldest MS, presumably because of the difficulty of reconciling them with the chronological data supplied by Jonas; but as they appear in the three other MSS, there can be little doubt that they form an integral part of the original poem. It is difficult to accept Mrs Concannon's contention (St Columban p.41) that they may be merely a school-exercise, without reference to the author's actual age; and we are therefore driven, either to deny Columban's authorship of the entire poem, or else to accept its statements in preference to those of Jonas. My reasons for following the latter course, together with an attempt to explain the discrepancy of the two accounts, will be found in Intro. Chapter II, sect. 1; and here it will be

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sufficient simply to explain the meaning of the terms employed. Olympias (line 163) is normally used by the Greek poets to denote a period of four years, but in the Latins it is sometimes taken as the equivalent of five-year "lustrum"; the former sense would place Columban's birth in the neighbourhood of the year 543, the latter eighteen years earlier, and there is no means of deciding which sense is intended here, except that, considering the great vigour which the author continued to display up to the close of his life, the later date for his birth would seem to be more plausible. It is perhaps just worth raising the question of whether olympias may here be intended to mean "olympica vita", a phrase which is occasionally used to denote the monastic life, but then always with some assistance from the context to indicate its meaning; if this idea could be substantiated, there would of course be no inconsistency between Jonas and the present poem, for on this interpretation, the author would only be saying that he had reached the eighteenth year of his life as a monk; but in view of the fact that no genuine parallel can be adduced, this suggested meaning cannot be seriously maintained, and a further objection to it is that it would require the less well attested reading, "senos", for senae in line 163.

162. cf. ad Hunald. 3.

163. cf. Mart. VII,40,6 "Hic prope ter senas vixit Olympiadas."

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164. Omnia praetereunt. cf. ad Hunald. 2.

164. fugit irreparabile tempus. cf. Verg. Georg. III,284, where these identical words appear.

165. Vive, vale. The words appear in Hor. Epist. I,6,67 and Serm. II,5,110; also in Auson. Epist. XXIV,13.

165. memento senectae. cf. Ovid. Art. Amat. III,59 "Venturae memores iam nunc estote senectae."

INDEX SCRIPTORUM

Opposite each text in the following list, a reference by page and line is given to Part II of the present edition; thereafter, in brackets, there appears an indication of the type of text quoted by Columban, either (1) corresponding to the Vulgate (Vulg.), or (2) corresponding to a known version of the Old Latin Bible (V.L.), or (3) uncertain, either from its brevity or some other cause, or (4) peculiar to Columban, and found in no other source. A summary of the results of this investigation, in tabular form, will be found in Part I, chapter III, section 8.

Genesis

1,26 -- 89,1 (Vulg.)

1,26 -- 144,1 (do.)

24,60 -- 44,3 (do.)

Exodus

2,14 -- 45,14 (Vulg.)

12,6 -- 77,1 (Uncertain)

12,3-6 -- 74,2-6 (do.)

12,15 -- 4,1 (do.)

34,33 -- 71,13 (do.)

Leviticus

11,44 -- 145,10 (Vulg.)

23,15-6 -- 78,5-6 (do.)

23,16-7 -- 78,18 (Uncertain)

23,17 -- 79,3 (do.)

23,20 -- 78,19 (do.)

Deuteron.

4,2 -- 7,4 (Peculiar)

5,32 -- 176,10 (do.)

6,4 -- 88,3 & 18 (V.L. - Ambros.)

6,4 -- 180,10 (Uncertain)

Deuteron. contd.

16,19 -- 239,24 (Uncertain)
 28,44 -- 58,18 (Vulg.)
 32,7 -- 1,10 (do.)
 32,7 -- 177,3 (do.)

I Reg.

24,22 -- 49,15 (Uncertain)

Iob

7,1 -- 176,15 (V.L. -
 Ambros. & Aug.)
 40,9 -- 39,10 (Vulg.)

Psalmi

17,29-30 -- 176,14 (Vulg.)
 18,2 -- 61,8 (do.)
 18,5 -- 61,10 (do.)
 33,9 -- 158,15 (Peculiar)
 35,10 -- 157,4 (Vulg.)
 36,8-9 -- 147,11 (Peculiar)
 41,3 -- 131,2 (do.)
 45,7 -- 53,13 (Uncertain)
 45,11 -- 24,3 (do.)
 49,3 -- 138,8 (V.L.-Aug.)

49,8-13 -- 72,17 (Vulg.)
 50,13 -- 39,13 (do.)
 62,4 -- 38,15 (V.L.-Hil.
 & Cassiod.)
 62,9 -- 129,19 (Vulg.)
 69,2 -- 197,12 (do.)
 77,25 -- 128,19 (Uncertain)
 80,4 -- 80,11 (Vulg.)
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 118,10 -- 39,14 (Vulg.)
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 142,6 -- 131,4 (do.)
 146,11 -- 39,4 (do.)

Proverb.

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 10,19 -- 163,20 (Vulg.)
 13,8 -- 150,19 (Uncertain)
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7,24 -- 93,19 (Uncertain)
 7,25 -- 91,14 & 93,6 (Vulg.)
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 10,4 -- 224,7 (do.)

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1,3 -- 129,18 & 20 (Vulg.)
 1,6 -- 160,8 (Peculiar)
 4,6 -- 11,8 (V.L. - Hieron.)
 8,7 -- 154,17 (Vulg.)

Sap.

1,7 -- 90,1 (Peculiar)

Eccclus.

1,5 -- 158,5 (Vulg.)
 2,1 -- 113,2 (Uncertain)
 3,22 -- 97,7 (Vulg.)
 19,1 -- 184,20 (Peculiar)
 32,24 -- 176,20 (Vulg.)
 33,29 -- 223,10 (Peculiar)

Isaias

1,13-4 -- 72,10 (Uncertain)
 13,9 -- 137,19 (Peculiar)
 13,13 -- 138,1 (do.)
 21,8 -- 49,18 (Uncertain)
 24,18-20 -- 138,3 (Peculiar)
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